

T H E LONDON MAGAZINE.

J U N E, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of the late PARLIAMENT.



ON Jan. 17. his Majesty open'd the Session with a most gracious Speech to both Houses; which see p. 43.

As soon as his Majesty was retir'd, and the Commons returned to their House, Lrd H—y, in the House of Lords, made a short Speech, and moved for an Address; which Motion was seconded by the Lrd C—n. To this Motion there was no Opposition made, nor any Amendment offer'd to the Terms of the Address proposed; only the E—l of C—ld said, That he hoped, no Words or Expressions in their Address should afterwards be made use of, either for or against any Proposition that might be made, or any Question that might arise in that House. (See p. 44.)

DEBATE in the House of Commons upon the Motion for an Address.

The Speaker having reported to the House his Majesty's Speech; and a Copy of it being read, J—n C—pb—ll, Knight of the Shire for the County of P—ke, stood up, and after a short Speech, made the following Motion, viz. That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return the Thanks of that House for his most gracious Speech: To acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness; in the Concern he had expressed on Account of the War unhappily begun in Europe; and his great Wisdom in using so much Precaution on that critical Conjunction, in waiting the Result of the Councils of those Powers, who were more immediately interested in the Consequences of the War, and in taking

Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to concert with those Allies, who were under the same Engagements with his Majesty, and had not taken Part in the War, such Measures, as should be thought most advisable for the common Safety, and for restoring the Peace of Europe: To declare their unfeigned Confidence in his Majesty, that in all his Considerations on that important Affair, his Majesty would have the strictest Regard to the Honour and Dignity of his Crown and Kingdoms, and to the true Interest of his People: And to assure his Majesty that he might entirely depend on the Support and Assistance of his faithful Commons, in such Measures as he should find it necessary to enter into, for attaining and securing these valuable Purposes; and that that House would make such Provision for the Defence of the Nation, as should secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights, and Possessions, from all Dangers and Insults; as might preserve the Respect due to the Crown of Great Britain, and not give any Encouragement to the desperate Views of those who never fail to flatter themselves with the Hopes of great Advantages from publick Troubles: And to assure his Majesty that that House would immediately take into their Consideration such Estimates and Demands, as should be made by his Majesty for the publick Service, and raise the Supplies which should be answerable to the present Exigency of Affairs, with their known Zeal and Cheerfulness, and with a due Regard to the Interest of their Fellow-Subjects: And, that the publick Business might be dispatched with all proper Expedition, that they would endeavour to avoid all Haats and Animosities, and all Occasions that might tend to protract the then present Session by unnecessary Delays.

This Motion was seconded by S——n F——x, Esq; Member for S——ty in Dorsetshire; and also by the L——d T——ll, Member for G——m in Lincolnshire; who declared it as his Opinion, that as this was a trading Nation, nothing but the most absolute Necessity should ever force us into a War. After him,

W——m S——p——n, Esq; Member for N——n in Lancashire, stood up and spoke as follows, viz. Sir, I believe it has always been taken for granted by most Gentlemen in this House, that the Speeches from the Throne are the Compositions of Ministers of State, and on that Supposition we have always thought ourselves at Liberty to examine every Proposition contained in them: This House has, on many Occasions, canvassed such Speeches, and debated upon them with great Freedom. Even without Doors People are generally pretty free in their Remarks upon them; and I believe no Gentleman that hears me is ignorant of the Reception the Speech from the Throne at the Close of last Session met with from the Nation in general. (See Vol. II. p. 303.)

If then, Sir, so much Freedom be taken with the Speeches themselves; doubtless, the same Freedom may be taken with any Proposition made in this House, in Consequence of such Speeches. I will not say that the Question moved by the Hon. Gentleman over the Way was penned by the same Hand that penned his Majesty's Speech, tho' I must say there is a good deal of Reason to believe, that they were both penned by the same Hand.

As to the Motion, I have one very great Objection to the Whole, and that is, that it is too cautiously and too generally worded: Under such general Expressions Designs may be concealed, which the Gentleman who penned the Motion, does not think proper now to declare; but when they come to be explain'd, this House may then probably find itself drawn into some Difficulties by making Use of such uncertain Expressions. There is indeed one Paragraph in the Motion, which I shall now particularly lay my Finger on; I cannot pretend to repeat the very Words, for we who hear the Speech and the Motion but once read, are obliged in some Manner to shoot flying; but I shall repeat them as near as possible: I think the Paragraph proposes for us to say in our Address, that we will support his Majesty in all those Measures he shall think it necessary to enter into. Now, Sir, I am afraid, that under such a general Expression, there may be couched, or at least it may hereafter be insisted on, that there is couched, a Promise of a Vote of Credit, and therefore I should be willing to have those Words a little explained; for I shall always endeavour, as much as I can, to prevent this House's being rashly drawn into such Pro-

mises: I shall not offer any Amendment till I have heard other Gentlemen's Sentiments on the Question before us; I now only lay my Finger upon this Part of the Motion; and after other Gentlemen have spoke, I may then possibly give my Opinion farther, and may perhaps offer an Amendment; but I could wish rather that the Words were altogether left out.

A Sir J——n H——d C——t——n, Sir, I stand up to agree, in a great Measure, with the Hon. Gentleman who moved the Question, and with the other Hon. Gentleman who seconded his Motion. I had indeed an Objection to one general Expression: But the Gentleman who made the Motion explained it in such a Manner as satisfied me, and in which it will, I hope, be explained by this House. B The Passage is that whereby we promise to provide for the Security of his Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights, and Possessions: Now, Sir, these last Words, *Rights and Possessions*, is an Expression so general, that I am afraid it may include his Majesty's *German Dominions*; I am persuaded it will be understood so by all without Doors, whatever this House may intend by it: The Gentleman who open'd the Debate has, 'tis true, satisfy'd me, and, I believe every one in the House, that no such Thing is intended; but I think it likewise necessary to satisfy the World; I think it incumbent on us, to assure our Constituents that no such Thing was ever meant; for which Reason I shall move for this Amendment, to wit, that the Words, *thereunto belonging*, may be added after the Word *Possessions*; so that the Sentence will then run thus, *as shall secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights and Possessions, thereunto belonging, from all Dangers and Insults*, and so on.

J——n C——p——ll, Esq; Sir, I believe I did open the Affair as the Hon. Gentleman has mention'd, but it was not from an Opinion that there was any Possibility for putting such a Sense upon those Words as the Gentleman seems apprehensive of. Those Words are so fully explained, both by what goes before, and what comes after, that there is no Room for imagining, they ever were meant to comprehend his Majesty's *German Dominions*; every Man must see that they relate only to the foreign Rights and Possessions belonging to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and I gave some Explanation of them, only to preclude any Exception that might have been taken, by Gentlemen's considering those general Words by themselves, and without Regard to what went before, or followed after; but to any one either within or without Doors, who considers the Whole together, there cannot so much as a Doubt arise; every Man must see that the Words can relate to nothing but what belongs to his Majesty as King of *Great Britain*, and therefore I cannot think there

there is the least Occasion for the Amendment proposed.

The L---d C---ne, Member for B---n in *Lincolnshire*. Sir, the Gentleman who spoke last, has not in the least satisfied me; for if those Words be taken in a strict grammatical Sense, they must comprehend his Majesty's *German Dominions*: Those Dominions are certainly a Part of his Majesty's Possessions, and as such must be comprehended under those general Words; nor can I see that there is any Restriction put upon them, either by what goes before, or follows after. Even the Amendment proposed, will not, I am afraid, be sufficient to restrain them as they ought to be; and therefore I am of Opinion, that the Amendment ought to be in these Words, *belonging to the Crown of Great Britain*; so as that the Sentence may run thus, *as shall secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, and all the Rights and Possessions belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, from all Dangers and Insults.*

H---y P---m, Esq; Knt. of the Shire for S---x. Sir, the Question moved by the Hon. Gentleman was, as I thought, so aptly worded, and, to use my worthy Friend's Expression, so cautiously worded, that I did not imagine, any Objection would have been made to it. As to the Words, *Rights and Possessions*, the proper Meaning of them seems to me to be certain and apparent; it is well known, that Doubts have lately been raised about some of those Dominions, which belong to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and tho' there never was any Foundation for those Doubts, yet some have strongly insisted on it, that there was something further necessary to be done, in order to secure our Enjoyment of those Possessions; and from that Consideration alone, if there were no other, every one must conclude, that all that could be meant by those general Words, was, to comprehend the several *British* Possessions in foreign Parts; but as to his Majesty's *German Dominions*, as they in no Way belong to the Crown of *Great Britain*, which is mentioned, in the very next Sentence, I cannot believe that any Gentleman in this House, or without Doors, will ever imagine, they were meant to be comprehended under those general Words.

W---m P---ney, Esq; When I heard his Majesty's Speech, and the Motion made by the Hon. Gentleman, in Consequence thereof, I was in Hopes, Sir, we should have separated to Day without any Debate; and yet I must own, that the Words contained in the Motion, which were taken Notice of by my Hon. Friend over the Way, did at first strike me a little. I was indeed a little afraid of the Consequences, or at least of the Use that might be made of such Words, but I was resolved to pass them over in Silence: However, now that they are taken Notice of, I must say, that some Amendment, in order to re-

strain them a little will not be unnecessary. I am not for leaving them out entirely, because one Part of his Majesty's Speech would in that Case stand without any Answer; and I am unwilling that this House should on any Occasion shew the least Want of Respect and Complaisance towards his Majesty.

I shall therefore, Sir, propose an Amendment; but I must acquaint the House, that the Motion I am to make for that Purpose, is without any View of making a Difference or Division among us this Day; nor shall I insist on my Motion, if it does not appear to be agreeable to every Gentleman in this House. I know we are not tied down by any general Expressions in an Address of Thanks; but I remember, that a Vote of Credit passed in this House, towards the Close of a Session, for which there was no other Foundation but some general Expressions in the Address of Thanks which had been voted the first Day of the Session; and therefore we ought to be extremely cautious in agreeing to any Sort of Words, from whence the Promise of a Vote of Credit may be afterwards inferred: For this Reason I shall beg Leave to add a few Words by Way of Amendment; but as I said before, I will not insist on it, in Case my Amendment should be opposed. The Amendment I propose is, that the following Words be inserted, to wit, *Provided such Measures shall appear to this House to have been necessary for obtaining such Ends.* In which Case the Paragraph taken Notice of by my worthy Friend, will run thus; and to assure his Majesty, that he may entirely depend on the Support and Assistance of his faithful Commons, in such Measures as he shall find it necessary to enter into, for attaining and securing these valuable Purposes; provided such Measures shall appear to this House to have been necessary for obtaining such Ends.

Mr. C---r of the E---r. Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has proposed an Amendment, but has not made any direct Motion for that Purpose; and he was pleased to say, that what he proposed was without any View of making a Difference or Division among us; I am very glad, Sir, to find that the Hon. Gentleman is now come to be of that Way of Thinking; for there is nothing can contribute more to the Honour of this House, than a Harmony and Unanimity amongst us; and therefore I hope the Gentleman will not insist on his Amendment. One of the Objections to the Question, made by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke first against it, was, that it was too general, and worded with too much Caution: This, I must say, is an Objection of a very new Nature; for the chief Objection to Addresses of this Nature has generally been, that they descended too much into Particulars, and were not worded with proper Caution. From this general Objection

the Gentleman was pleased to come to a Particular, and took Notice of some Words under which, he said, he believed a Vote of Credit was intended to be couched: But does not every Gentleman in this House know, that his Majesty never desires any such Thing as a Promise of a Vote of Credit, nor has it ever been usual to make any such Promise? The usual Method has been, whenever his Majesty wanted a Vote of Credit, he always acquainted the House of it by a direct Message, and therefore there is not the least Ground to presume an Intention of couching a Promise of a Vote of Credit under any general Words proposed to be put into the Address: As to the Case mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, I do not remember that there was ever any Vote of Credit founded on a pretended Promise in the Address of Thanks at the Beginning of the Session. There may have been, for what I know, such a Case; but as I now speak upon Memory only, I cannot say whether it may have been a late Case, or one of an older Date: However, this I am certain of, that no such Thing is intended by the Words now objected to, nor will there, I believe, be any such Use made of them.

As to the other Objection, Sir, it is equally without Foundation; I do not believe that it can so much as once enter into the Head of any Man to imagine, that by the Words, *Rights and Possessions*, this House means to include his Majesty's German Dominions: If ever those Dominions should come to be in such Danger, as that his Majesty should find it necessary to ask the Assistance of this Nation, he would certainly do it by a direct Message to Parliament; and I am very sure, that at present there is no such Thing thought of, nor is there the least Shadow of Reason for suspecting that there will be an Occasion for any such Demand: The Words, *Rights and Possessions*, must therefore be understood to relate only to the foreign Possessions belonging to Great Britain; and had those Words been left out, (to willing Minds, at least) it would have afforded a Pretence for the Raising of much greater Alarms without Doors; it then might probably have been said, that we were going to give up some of those valuable Possessions we have abroad; Possessions so valuable, that I hope this Nation will never consent to the giving them up.

Upon the Whole, Sir, however unwilling some Gentlemen may pretend to be, to create Differences and make Divisions, I am persuaded, that nothing but a Desire to do so, could have raised any Objections to the Question now in your Hands; and as I have not heard any Colour of Reason for supporting any of the Amendments, I must therefore be against them.

Sir W——m W——nd——m. Tho' the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, does not seem to

remember the Case mentioned by the Gentleman who spoke just before him, I remember it well, Sir, and I speak it with the greater Confidence, because this very Morning I look'd over some of the Journals of the House, together with my Hon. Friend on the Floor, by which I found that that famous Vote of Credit was agreed to in this House, on the 12th Day of April 1727, which was towards the Close of the Session; and I remember, Sir, that there was but a very thin House; and there was no other Foundation for that Vote, hardly indeed any material Argument offered in Favour of it, than what has been mentioned by my Hon. Friend. I remember, Sir, that it bore a very strenuous Debate in this House, and that the Gentleman who sits behind the Hon. Person who spoke last, had a very considerable Share in that Debate, and was one of the Tellers, against the Question.

Whether any such Use is now intended to be made of the general Expressions objected to, I shall not take upon me to say; but that I do not take to be the Matter in Dispute, the proper Question is, whether any such Use can possibly be made of those general Expressions? For if it can, we are not to depend on the Assurances of any Member, that it will not; and therefore, lest any such Use should hereafter be made of those general Expressions, I think it highly necessary that some Words should be added for restraining them to what is now declared to be the Meaning of them: For my own Part, I am very easy about it, because I am now free to declare, that if ever any Vote of Credit of the same Nature with those lately agreed to, be proposed or moved for in this House, I shall always be against any such, as long as I have the Honour to sit here; nor shall any general Words, or any express Promise contained in any former Addresses, be of the least Weight with me in such a Debate.

T——s W——n, Esq; stood up next, and gave some Account of the Vote of Credit agreed to in the Year 1727; and P——p G——n, Esq; and S——l S——ys, Esq; disagreeing with him in his Account of that Vote of Credit,

F Sir W——m T——ge stood up, and spoke as follows, viz. I was at some Distance, Sir, when the Hon. Gentleman on the Floor first mentioned the Case which seems now to be the Subject of Debate; and tho' I had not look'd into the Journals this Morning, as some Gentlemen seem to have done, yet I could not but think, that it was impossible that ever any House of Commons should have proceeded in the Manner they have represented. I have now look'd upon the Journals of that and the preceding Session, and as I have the Book in my Hand, I shall from thence set that Matter in a clear Light. In 1725, his

his late Majesty sent a Message to the House of Commons, by which he acquainted them, that in order to prevent and frustrate such Designs as had been formed against the particular Interest of this Nation, and the general Peace of Europe, he found it necessary not only to augment his Maritime Force, but to concert such other Measures as might most effectually conduce to these desirable Ends; and as these Services would require some extraordinary Expence, his Majesty hoped he should be enabled, by the Assistance of Parliament, to encrease the Number of Seamen then before voted and granted for the Service of that Year; and to enter into, and make good such Engagements as the Exigency of Affairs might require. Upon this Message, the House, as in Duty they ought, voted and presented an Address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to make such an Addition to the Number of Seamen then before voted, and to concert such other Measures as his Majesty should in his great Wisdom think would best conduce to the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to the Preservation of the Peace of Europe; and assured his Majesty, that that House would effectually provide for, and make good all such Expences and Engagements as should be made for obtaining those desirable Ends.

At the Beginning of the next Session, his Majesty, in his Speech, expressly said, that as the Expence he had in the preceding Year been in a particular Manner entrusted to make, had amounted to no considerable Sum, and the publick Utility might again require the like Services to be performed, he hoped they would again repose the same Trust and Confidence in him. To which the House, in their Address of Thanks, as expressly answer, and promise, that they would repose such a Trust and Confidence in his Majesty as the publick Utility should require, and as his Majesty should find reasonable and necessary for carrying on the great Work in which his Majesty was engaged, for the Interest and Security of his People, and the common Cause of Europe.

Thus, Sir, every Gentleman may see, that the Vote of Credit agreed to at the End of that Session was not in Consequence of a few general Words in their Address at the Beginning of the Session, but in Consequence of an express Demand in the Speech, and as express a Promise in the Address; and from thence, I think, every Gentleman may see how vastly different that Case is, from what is now the Subject of Debate.

J—*n* S—*pe*, Esq; stood up next, and gave a short, but most distinct Account of all the Votes of Credit that had ever been agreed to by that House; after which, he concluded, that, in his Opinion, there was no Amendment necessary to that or any other Part of the Motion.

W—*m* P—*ney*, Esq; spoke again as follows. Sir, The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has, in a few Words, explained how the several Votes of Credit have been granted, and he and I do not, I think, differ much in our Accounts; but the Hon. Gentleman who spoke with the Book in his Hand, and who set out with a Promise of clearing that Matter fully to the House, has, in my Opinion, and, I believe, in the Opinion of every Gentleman who heard him, left the Matter just where he found it; and therefore I would advise him, for the future, to speak without Book.

Can any Gentleman, Sir, imagine, that, in Consequence of the Paragraph of his late Majesty's Speech mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman, or the Answer thereto in the Address of Thanks, a Vote of Credit was, or ought to have been agreed to, without a new Message from his Majesty, signifying, that the publick Utility did actually again require the reposing of such a Trust and Confidence in his Majesty? Does any Gentleman suppose, that this House is to repose such a Trust and Confidence in the Crown, only because 'tis demanded by the Crown, and without assigning any Reason for so doing? No, Sir; and I believe I may appeal to every Gentleman who hears me, and who had the Honour to be a Member of this House, when that Address was agreed to, whether he did not then think that all that was meant by those general Assurances, was, that they would again repose the same Trust and Confidence in his Majesty, if upon a new Message, it could be shewn them, that the publick Utility required it; but Gentlemen found afterwards that another Use was made of those general Expressions; they were at the End of the Session made the only Argument for agreeing to a Vote of Credit; and lest the same Thing should be again practised, we ought to be extremely cautious of putting any such general Expressions in our Address.

When I first stood up, Sir, what I was then to propose was, I said, without any Intention of making a Division or Difference amongst us to Day; and the Hon. Gentleman who spoke next after me, said, he was glad to find me in that Way of Thinking. Sir, I am now in the same Way of Thinking I always was, and if other Gentlemen think in the same Way they have lately taken up, I am afraid we shall have many and great Differences before this Session can well be at an End. The Hon. Gentleman said he did not remember whether the Case of a Vote of Credit I had mentioned was of a late, or of an older Date: Alas! Sir, there are no such Votes of Credit to be found of an old Date; Votes of Credit of old were of a very different Nature, they were never so much as asked, but for some particular Purposes expressly mentioned,

ed, the Sum was always limited, the Parliament became Sureties only for that Sum, and an exact Account was afterwards given to Parliament, to what Purposes the Money so granted was applied; but our late Votes of Credit have all been granted in the Dark; we have granted Sums unlimited without knowing to what Uses any of the Money so to be raised was to be applied, and we have never been able to have any proper Account (tho' often asked for) how the Money was disposed of.

However, Sir, tho' I wish we may separate to Day without any Division, yet I hope we shall have many Days after this to enter into the Consideration of Affairs of very great Consequence; I am fully sensible of the calamitous Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad; they necessarily require the Consideration of Parliament: There are many, many Grievances both foreign and domestick, under which the Nation groans at present, and which call loudly for Redress, and therefore, tho' we promise not to protract or prolong the Session by unnecessary Delays, yet I hope we shall not separate before we have taken all those Matters properly under our Consideration: The State of the Nation must be called for, and, I dare say, this House of Commons which has shewn so much Regard for their Fellow-Subjects, will envy any succeeding House the Glory of redressing those many Grievances we now labour under: Upon such an Occasion, I hope, Gentlemen will attend, I hope they will be emulous who shall attend best; and when such a Spirit of Liberty appears over the whole Nation, I am convinced no Man will dare desert his Duty in this House, no Man will dare retire to the Country, when Affairs of such Moment demand his Attendance in Parliament.

After these Speeches, as none of the Gentlemen insisted on any of the Amendments, the Question was put upon the first Motion, and carried in the Affirmative, without a Division; and a Committee being appointed, they drew up an Address, in Pursuance of this Resolution, which Address was reported next Day to the House, and an Amendment being offered, viz. in the second Paragraph of the Address, which at first run thus: Not wondering, that the same Prudence and Precaution, the same Concern and Circumspection, and the same wise Counsels, that have guided, &c. It was proposed to leave out the Words, and the same wise Counsels, as not being proper in an Address to his Majesty; and the same was agreed to; then the Address itself was agreed to by the House, and was the next Day presented to his Majesty. [See the Answer to it, p. 45.]

On the 23d the House resolved, *Nem. Con.* that a Supply should be granted to his Majesty.

DEBATE on the Motion about the Letters and Instructions relating to the Treaty of Seville.

The same Day it was resolved, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give Directions, that a Copy of the Treaty between his Majesty and the Emperor, concluded at Vienna in 1731, with the secret and separate Articles, and the States General's Act of Concurrence to the same, should be laid before the House; and the said Address being ordered to be presented to his Majesty by such Members of that House, as were of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council,

Sir *J—n R—sb—t*, Bart. stood up, and, after a short Speech, moved, that an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give Direction, that the Letters and Instructions sent to his Majesty's Ministers at the Courts of France and Spain, relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, should be laid before the House.

Sir *W—m Y—ge*. I do not stand up, Sir, to say any thing against the Power this House has for calling for whatever Papers they may think necessary to give them proper Lights into any Affair: That the House has such a Power is what I believe none will deny; but then every Gentleman must grant, that this Power should be used with great Caution and Discretion; no Papers ought to be called for but such as properly relate to the Affair in Hand, and without which it would be impossible to understand fully what we are to be about. It has been resolved to address his Majesty for a Copy of the Treaty of Vienna to be laid before us; but I can't apprehend what Connection there is or can be between that Treaty and the Letters and Instructions sent to our Ministers in France and Spain, relating to the Treaty of Seville. Can it be supposed, that those Letters and Instructions have any Concern with a Treaty afterwards concluded with the Emperor, who was not then in good Terms with either of the other two Courts? As all such Negotiations are carried on in the most secret Manner, it cannot be supposed, that our Ministers either in France or Spain knew any Thing of those Negotiations at Vienna, which so happily ended in that Treaty; and therefore it is impossible to suppose, that we can, from the Letters and Instructions sent to them, receive any Light or Information, with Respect to the Treaty of Vienna now called for.

But granting, Sir, that some possible Connection might be found out, between the Treaty of Vienna, and the Letters and Instructions moved for; yet there is another Rule to be observed in the using of that Power which this House has of calling for Papers, which in the present Case will be an effectual Bar

Bar to the Motion: Tho' this House has a Power of calling for Papers, yet we ought in no Case to call for those which may contain Secrets, the publishing whereof might be of signal Disadvantage to the Common-wealth. A Secret communicated once to this House is in great Danger of not remaining long a Secret: It was never known that a Secret was long kept by any such numerous Assembly, and therefore we ought to be extremely cautious, and never call for any Papers which may contain such Secrets. I do not pretend to know the Nature of those Instructions or Letters; but some of them may contain something not proper to be published to the World at this Juncture; the Publishing of it might, perhaps, open old Sores, and give Offence to some of those Powers with whom we have at present a good Understanding; by which his Majesty's Negotiations for restoring the Tranquillity of Europe might be embarrassed, perhaps rendered entirely fruitless; and therefore I cannot but think, that any such general Call for Papers is now, and always will be, of dangerous Consequence.

If this House should at any Time resolve to take the Treaty of *Seville* into their Consideration, when that Day comes, if any Gentleman of this House can then lay his Finger on any particular Paper, which he thinks may be necessary for our Information, he may then move for it; and the House may, if they think proper, agree to such a Motion; but to make such a general Motion as the present, to call for all the Letters and Instructions sent to our Ministers at those two Courts in general, I think most improper and irregular, and therefore I shall give my Negative to it.

Sir W-----m W-----nd--m. Sir, Notwithstanding what the Hon. Gentleman, who spoke last, has said, I cannot help thinking, that the Motion made by my Hon. Friend is regular, and that the Papers he has called for are such as must necessarily tend to give a great deal of Information, not only with Relation to the Treaty of *Seville*, but likewise the Treaty we shall soon have, I hope, laid before us, in Pursuance of the Resolution we have just now come to; and therefore I take it to be as proper now as it can be when the Day comes which the Gentleman speaks of.

As to any Secret which may be contained in those Papers, and which it would not be proper at present to publish to the World, that can be no Argument against the Motion; because if that should be the Case, his Majesty would communicate to us none but such as contained no such Secrets, and in his Answer to our Address, would acquaint us, that the other Letters or Instructions contained such Secrets as were not proper to be revealed at present; this would be a proper Answer from his Majesty, and such an Answer as this House would certainly rest satisfied with,

unless some very strong Reasons appeared to the contrary: But, Sir, this is an Answer which ought not to be taken from any other but his Majesty: It is below the Dignity of this House to take it from any other; it is what no Member ought so much as to insinuate; for any such Insinuation is offering an Indignity to the Crown, because it seems to be a dictating to his Majesty, what Answer he is to make to the Address of this House. The Gentleman spoke of opening old Sores, and that the publishing of those Papers might give Offence to some of those Powers we are now in Friendship with: This seems to be a very extraordinary Reason against the Motion; for I am sure this Reason will hold equally good against calling for any Treaty, or any Paper relating to our foreign Negotiations; and I can see no Difference between denying that the House has a Power to call for any Papers, and making Use of an Argument, which, if allowed, would render that Power altogether ineffectual: But, Sir, I would gladly know what Prince, what State there is now in Europe, whom we have not disobliged and fallen out with, by Turns; and shall it be said, that the publishing of those Negotiations which we carried on while we were at Enmity, or at least not in a cordial Friendship with them, will open those Sores which were healed up by a new Treaty afterwards concluded with them? Does not every one see, that this Argument strikes against this House's ever desiring to have any foreign Treaty or Negotiation laid before them, except such as have been before published to the World?

As to the Connection between the Papers now moved for, and the Treaty just before called for, it is, in my Opinion, evident: For what End have we called for a Copy of the Treaty of *Vienna*? What are we to consider of, when we enter into the Consideration of that Treaty? Are not we to consider, whether it was for the Benefit of this Nation, or not? And how shall we determine this, without knowing the Circumstances which made it necessary for us to conclude such a burthensome Treaty? By that Treaty, we entered into very great Engagements, Engagements, which if punctually performed, may cost this Nation infinite Sums; and Engagements, which we ought not to have entered into, if the publick Tranquillity could have been established at any cheaper Rate. Is it to be presumed, that the Impossibility of carrying the Treaty of *Seville* into Execution, without involving ourselves and all Europe in a bloody War, was what made it necessary for us to agree to those Engagements contained in the Treaty of *Vienna*; and how is it possible to determine, whether or no there was an Impossibility of carrying the Treaty of *Seville* into Execution, without having all those Papers laid before us, which relate to the Execution

cution of that Treaty? It was, I remember, when first concluded, a Treaty that was much bragged of by the Friends of the Gentleman who spoke last; and if it was so good a Thing, I can't find out why he or his Friends should be so fond of keeping secret either the Means by which it was obtained, or the Methods that were used for carrying it into Execution: As to the Means by which that Treaty was obtained, they may not perhaps relate much to the Treaty of *Vienna*; but as to the Methods for carrying it into Execution, the last of which was the Treaty of *Vienna*, every Man must see the Connection; and therefore must be convinced, that it is necessary for us to have the Papers now moved for laid before us, before we can properly take the Treaty of *Vienna* into our Consideration.

His Majesty, Sir, in his Speech, recommends the present Situation of Affairs to the Consideration of Parliament; he recommends it to us, thoroughly to weigh all Circumstances before we come to a final Determination; but if such Things as are necessary for our Information, are, when called for, refused by those in Power, how is it possible to answer his Majesty's Expectations? It must be owned, that we have, of late Years, been in very odd Circumstances; and our present Situation may, perhaps, in the Opinion of many, be owing, in some Measure, to the Mismanagement of those in the Administration; I shall not say, it is so, but if this be not the Case, I can see no Reason for refusing the Papers now called for, and if this be really the Case, it ought to be enquired into, and the Papers now called for, as well as a great many others, must be laid before us, to enable us to make a proper Enquiry, and to apply proper Remedies for those Evils which the Nation now labours under. Upon the Whole, Sir, as I said at first, I think the Motion now made most regular; I think it is absolutely necessary for us to have those Papers laid before us; for without them the Resolution we have just come to, can be of no Effect; and therefore I hope the House will agree to the Motion.

Mr. C——r of the E——r. I stand up, Sir, to agree, in some Part, with the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last: If we are at present in any unhappy Situation, and if it be but thought, by any Gentleman in this House, that that Situation is in any Way owing to the Mismanagement of those in the Administration, in my Opinion, whoever thinks so, ought to move for this House's going into such an Enquiry; they ought to move for it to go into a Committee upon the State of the Nation; and on the Foot of such an Enquiry I will willingly join Issue with the Hon. Gentleman, or any other in this House: Whenever the House shall resolve on going into such a Committee, I promise, that in so far

as lies in my Power, nothing shall be refused that is thought proper or necessary for giving the House all the Information that can be desired; but as that Time is not yet come, I must think that the Motion now under our Consideration is very irregular, and seems calculated rather for giving Gentlemen an Opportunity of declaiming against those who have the Honour to serve the Crown, than for procuring any proper Information for the House, or any Advantage for the Country.

It is usual, Sir, for some People to make Motions rather to fix unpopular Things on others, than to have any Information for themselves: They make Motions in order to make a Figure in the Votes, which are sent to all Parts of the Nation, and to serve some particular Ends of their own: When a Negative is put on any such Motion, they are then ready to cry out, we would have relieved you, we would have extricated you from all the Difficulties you labour under, but we were by Power denied the Means of doing it. This, Sir, is a Piece of Management, it is a Sort of parliamentary Play, always practised by those who oppose the Measures of the Administration; I remember it as long as I remember Parliaments, and have by my own Experience been acquainted with it: I can remember Motions made with no other View, but to have a Negative put upon them; and particularly at the Beginning of a Session, the Language among such Gentlemen has always been, we must attack them, we must give them no Rest, but make Motion after Motion; if they agree in any Motion we make, it will distress them; and if they put a Negative on every one, it will render them odious among the People.

This I say, Sir, has been always the Practice of those who are resolved at any Rate to oppose the Administration; but to say, that any Motion in Parliament is refused by Power, is, in my Opinion, a very unparliamentary Way of speaking; when any Motion is made, every Gentleman is at Liberty to debate upon it, and to agree or disagree as he thinks reasonable; if it be rejected it must be by a Majority of the House, and becomes an Act of this House; and to say that what is the Act of the House is an Act of Power, is not, I think, speaking in the Language of Parliament.

I shall likewise agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that when any Papers are moved for, the House is not to be told by any Member, or any but his Majesty, that such Papers contain Secrets which must not yet be discovered; but I hope the Gentleman will agree with me, that it is below the Dignity of this House to present insignificant Addresses to his Majesty; we are not to desire of his Majesty what evidently, and at first Sight, appears to be such as his Majesty cannot comply

ply with; and therefore when a Motion for any such Address is made, any Gentleman of the House may, nay, he ought, if he thinks so, to rise up and shew to the House, that what is desired by the Address moved for, is of such a Nature, that his Majesty cannot comply with it; and this I take to be the Case now before us. In most publick Negotiations some Things may happen which ought never to be revealed; in every Negotiation, I believe, some Things happen which ought not to be published to the World for a great many Years after; and therefore it must be very irregular to desire his Majesty to lay before this House, that is, to publish to the World, all the Letters and Instructions relating to a Negotiation, which happened but a very few Years ago.

Gentlemen may assign what Causes they please for the Treaty of *Vienna*, but when that Treaty comes to be considered, I believe it will appear, that we thereby entered into no extraordinary or burthensome Engagements; and that we are not thereby obliged to do any Thing, but what we were by the Nature of Things, and the Circumstances of Affairs, obliged to do, if no such Treaty had been made. If this should appear, it will then be certain, that what the Hon. Gentleman mention'd, was not the true Cause, or only Foundation of the Treaty of *Vienna*; so that till this House has entered into the Consideration of that Treaty, and has found that the Engagements thereby entered into were such as we ought not to have taken upon us, if there was any other Way of carrying the Treaty of *Seville* into Execution, without entering into a War; till such Time, I say, it cannot be pretended, that there is any Connection between the Letters and Instructions relating to the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, and the Treaty of *Vienna* now resolved to be called for; and therefore, till that Time, the Motion now before us cannot be a proper or a regular Motion.

Before I conclude, Sir, I must take Notice, that the Way which some Gentlemen have got into, of making Panegyricks, and praising the Ministers for their profound Wisdom by way of Irony at one Time, and at other Times calling Names, such as a cowardly Administration, a wheeling, shifting Ministry (tho' by the by I never understood the present to be a shifting Administration, for, as I take it, the great Quarrel is, that the Administration has not been shifted) such a Way, I say, Sir, is a Method of Speaking, which very ill becomes any Member of this House. Tho' I cannot agree with Gentlemen who say that this Nation is at present in so unhappy a Situation, yet I must grant that the Affairs of *Europe* are not at present in a very happy Situation; and if the Errors or Mismanagement of any of the Administration here has con-

tributed in the least to the present Posture of the Affairs of *Europe*, I must think they very little deserve to serve the Crown; but really by some Gentlemen's Way of Talking, one would imagine that the Ministers of *England* were the Ministers of *Europe*, or that Mad-ness and Folly reigned at this Court, and the most profound Wisdom prevailed at all others: A If any unforeseen Accidents Abroad, if the Ambition of any foreign Prince, or the Misconduct of any foreign Court, produces any untoward Effects, or occasions any Troubles in *Europe*, the Ministers of *England* are immediately loaded with the Whole; it is they that have done the Mischief, and they must answer for it. This, Sir, is a Way of Treating those who have the Honour to serve the Crown, which to me seems neither candid nor just: However, I shall trouble you no further, but only to declare that I shall be against the Motion which the Hon. Gentleman has made.

W——m S——pp——n, Esq; Sir, As the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has made grievous Complaints of the Treatment he and his Friends receive from other Gentlemen, I am surprized he should, at the same Time, fall into that very Error he so much complains of in others; for to say, that Gentlemen make Motions only for the Sake of having an Opportunity to declaim against those in the Administration, or for the Sake of making a Figure in the Votes, is Language, in my Opinion, as unparliamentary, and treating Gentlemen with as little Candour, as what he has blamed others for. C

I must say, Sir, that it seems a very difficult Matter to know how to please those great Men in the Administration; for I find that when any Encomiums are made upon them, when any Thing is said in praise of their Measures, they immediately take it to be meant by Way of Irony; and if any Gentleman happens to give them any Names which may seem to be a little harsh, that they understand exactly as it is spoke, and complain that Gentlemen do not treat them in a parliamentary Way: But, Sir, whatever others may do, I am none of those who have bestowed Panegyricks either upon the present or upon any Administration; and I hope I never was, nor ever shall be guilty of calling Names. Perhaps the Hon. Gentleman may dislike those Names which he pretends have been given to him in this House; whether it be parliamentary Language or no I shall not determine, but I must tell him, it is very soft and pleasant Language when compared with that of the People of *England*: E Were he to hear them speak, he would hear them speak in a Style very different from that used at Court, or even in this House; and I believe it would be for his Advantage to give a little more Attention to the plain Language of

of those he looks on to be none of his Friends, than to the soothing Flatteries of his Creatures and Parasites about him.

Sir, Gentlemen may make themselves merry, but what I have said, may, perhaps, when it is too late, be found to be true; and whatever the Hon. Gentleman and his Friends may pretend to think of the present Motion, I must be of Opinion, that it is not only reasonable, but a natural Consequence of what was immediately before moved and agreed too; and therefore I hope this House will act so consistently with itself, as to agree to the present Motion likewise. What Information we may get from the Papers moved for, with Regard to the Treaty of *Vienna*, the Gentleman who has seen them can best tell; but as that Treaty was the immediate Consequence of the Negotiations relating to the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, I must think that the Journal of those Negotiations will afford us some Light, with Regard to that Treaty which immediately followed; and therefore I hope the Gentleman will excuse me for not taking it upon his Word, that the Papers called for can have no Manner of Connection with the Treaty which we seem now resolved to take into Consideration.

W—m P—ney, Esq; Sir, I stand up now, as I have been obliged to do on many other Occasions, to assert the Rights and Privileges of this House; we have not only a Right to call for what Papers we think necessary for our Information, but a Right to have the Papers so called for, laid before us. The Hon. Gentleman on the Floor seems highly offended at an Expression which dropt from my Hon. Friend by me. I will agree with him, that this House may or may not agree with the present, or any other Motion: This is a Privilege which I hope shall always be preserved, not only in Show, but in Reality; I hope no Gentleman shall ever attain to such a Power as to have a Majority in this House always ready to approve of what he pleases to propose; and I will likewise agree with him in this, that when any Motion is rejected by a Majority, it then becomes an Act of the House, in which every Gentleman must acquiesce; but I hope he will agree with me, that till the Question is put on any Motion, and the Opinion of the House taken upon it, it does not become an Act of the House: Now, as no Question has yet been put on the present Motion, and as it has yet been opposed, only by those who are immediately concerned in the Administration, I think it may very properly be said, that what has been asked has been refused by Power, or at least by those in Power.

The Gentlemen who opposed this Motion are forced to acknowledge, that this House has a Power of Calling for what Papers we please; but then, say they, you ought not to

call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, because all such must contain Secrets which ought not to be published to the World. Is not this, Sir, saying and unsaying in the same Breath? You may call for what Papers you please, but you must not call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, because the Addressing for such, appears, at first Sight, to be such an Address as his Majesty cannot comply with. Sir, I say, that when this House finds it necessary, they may call for all the Papers relating to any Negotiation whatever, and may insist upon having all of them laid before the House. Do not we know that on such Occasions we name a secret and select Committee, to inspect such Papers, and to report what they find in them; and I hope, Sir, we shall always have in this House ten or a dozen of Gentlemen, as capable to distinguish what ought to be kept secret, and as capable to keep those Secrets, as any Secretary or other Minister of State, that is, or ever shall be in this Nation.

I am really, Sir, surprised to hear Gentlemen pretend there is no Connection between the Negotiations for carrying the Treaty of *Seville* into Execution, and the Treaty of *Vienna*; when by that very Treaty of *Vienna* the Treaty of *Seville* was actually carried into Execution. It was the last Negotiation set on Foot for carrying it into Execution; and in order to judge of this last Negotiation, we only desire to see the Papers relating to the preceding Negotiations, which were carried on for that same Purpose. It may, for what I know, be true, that by the Treaty of *Vienna* we entered into no Engagements, but such as we were obliged to by the Nature of Things, and the Circumstances of Affairs; but it must surely be granted that an express Stipulation is more binding than a natural Obligation, and that no prudent Man will confirm a natural Obligation by an express Stipulation, unless he has some very good Consideration for so doing: If we had entered into no express Engagements, we would have left our Posterity in the same Case we were in ourselves; they might then have judged as well as we, by the Nature of Things, and the Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe*, as they should then have appeared to them; but now they are pinned down, they must judge only by the Terms of the Treaty which we have made for them; and tho' the Nature of Things, and the Circumstances of *Europe*, should be entirely altered, it will, without doubt, be insisted on, that they ought to perform those Engagements we have subjected them to.

The Hon. Gentleman said, that if the Nation was in an unhappy Situation, and if it was owing to any Mismanagement at home, it ought to be enquired into, and that on the Foot of such an Enquiry he was ready to join Issue with any Gentleman in this House: On that

that Foot, Sir, I am ready to join Issue with him: To me there is nothing appears more certain, than that we are in a most lamentable and calamitous Situation; and even from the Lights I have already, I am convinced, beyond all Doubt, that our present Situation is owing to the Mismanagement of those at Home: It may, I believe, be proved, to the Satisfaction of every unbiassed Person; but I must say, that if the Hon. Gentleman's Opinion prevails in the present Debate, he is taking a very effectual Method to prevent its being in the Power of any to bring Proofs of what I have now asserted: While he is possessed of all or most of the Materials necessary for such a Proof, it is an easy Matter first to deny Gentlemen any Access to them, and then to throw out a Defiance; but this will not, I hope, be in his Power; I hope the House will, in the present Question, join with me in Opinion, that it is absolutely necessary for us to have the Papers now called for laid before us.

I would gladly know how it is possible for the Parliament to give the Nation any Relief in its present melancholy Circumstances, if we are deny'd Access to those Particulars from which only we can know what our present Situation is. If the Question should come before us, whether or no we ought to take any Part in the present War? can we pass any Judgment upon such a Question, without first knowing how we stand engaged to the several Powers? And can we know any Thing of this, without examining the many Treaties and Negotiations carried on of late Years? If we are to take no Part in the War, we must provide for the Safety of the Nation; how can we do this properly, and as it ought to be done? How can we judge of the Estimates to be laid before us for that End, without knowing what Danger the Nation is in? And how can we know our Danger, without knowing how we stand with Respect to our foreign Alliances and Engagements? For those Ends, Sir, we must have not only the Papers now moved for, but, in my Opinion, a great many others, in order to give us those Lights which we ought certainly to have.

As I have said before, Sir, even as Things now appear to me, all that has happened is the Work of our own Hands; the Weakness of those whom many already look on as our Friends, and the Strength of their Enemies, is all of our own doing: Gentlemen were told of it when those Transactions were carrying on, but they were too wise to listen to Advice. When the whole Chain and Series of our Management for several Years past comes to be impartially look'd into, what I now say will be found to be true: Certain Causes will be found producing certain Effects, these Effects afterwards becoming Causes, and producing other Effects, till at last we have arrived at the mi-

serable State we are now in; but these are Matters, which I hope will soon come to be more fully opened, and clearly stated to this House.

The Hon. Gentleman said that Motions were often made with no other View, but to have Negatives put on them; if that be the Case, as to the present Motion, the Gentleman and his Friends may easily disappoint us of the Negative we are supposed to expect; and I wish, with all my Heart, that the Gentleman would give himself the Pleasure of disappointing me and some other Gentlemen, the obliging of whom did never, I am persuaded, yield him any great Delight.

J—pb D—ys, Esq; Member for *B—r* in *Suffex*. Sir, I am entirely against your Question; I think it a most unreasonable Proposition: In my Opinion, it would be altogether as right and as dutiful to address his Majesty to bring his Cabinet, with all the Papers in it, and lay it upon the Table, or upon the Floor of this House, to be perused by the Members. An Hon. Gentleman talked of the Language of the People of *England*, and seemed to insinuate, as if they railed at the Ministry. As to that, Sir, I have been, since last Session, in several Counties, and have conversed with People of different Parties; and I never heard any Man reproach the Ministry; on the contrary, they seemed all to think, that the only Dispute among us here was, who should be Minister; and as this is a Dispute which the Generality of the People of *England* are no Way concerned in, Gentlemen are much mistaken, if they imagine that the People of *England* trouble their Heads about it.

The Question was then put upon the Motion, and upon a Division carried in the Negative 195 to 104.

DEBATE on the Motion for calling for the Instructions to his Majesty's Minister in Poland.

On *Jan. 25*. *S—l S—ys*, Esq; stood up, and spoke as follows, viz. Sir, as we have been told, not only upon the Occasion of our Address in Answer to his Majesty's Speech, but have likewise heard, from Gentlemen in a late Debate, that the principal Causes of the War now carrying on in *Europe*, proceeded from those Obstructions which were thrown in the Way at the late Election of a King of *Poland*; I shall therefore move, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to give Direction, that the several Instructions to Mr. *Woodward*, his Majesty's Minister in *Poland*, in the Year 1729, be laid before the House.

It is well known, Sir, that the late King of *Poland* was then in a bad State of Health, so that even his Life was despaired of; and therefore we need not doubt, but there were some Measures then laid down for regulating, or at least influencing the Election of a new

King: As we had a Minister there at that Time, it is as little to be doubted, but that we were at least consulted, perhaps by all Parties concerned; we had a Right to intermeddle, because there are, I believe, some Treaties subsisting between us and *Poland*; and we were certainly interested in that great Event, because of the Extensive Trade carried on by our Subjects in that fruitful Kingdom: 'Tis true, the then King happened to live for a few Years after; but it is probable that the Measures then agreed on were much the same with those which have been since pursued; or at least that the Measures then concerted, very much influenced some of those Measures which have been since carried into Execution: For this Reason I should be glad to see, and I think it is absolutely necessary for this House to see the Instructions at least, that were sent to our Ministers at that Time, before we can determine any Thing as to the State in which we stand at present, with Respect to the War now unhappily begun in *Europe*; and therefore I have taken the Liberty to make you this Motion. *This Motion was seconded by Mr. Ch——d.*

H——y P——m, Esq; Sir, the Motion now made can, in my Opinion, bear but a very short Debate, I really think it a most improper Motion, nor can I apprehend what the Gentleman means by going so far back as 1729. I do not indeed remember any Thing of the K. of *Poland*'s bad State of Health at that Time; but if he was then indisposed, he recovered of that Indisposition, and lived for a long Time after in a State of perfect Health; and even when he died, I believe it will be granted, that, but a very few Days before his Death, he was in as good a State of Health, and as likely to live as most Men of his Age in *Europe*.

I wish, Sir, as has been wished in a former Debate, that Gentlemen would be so candid as to declare what they really intend by such Motions as they have made of late: If they would once fairly tell what they mean, we might form some Judgment, whether what they asked for was necessary for attaining the Ends they propose; and in that Case, if any Thing necessary or reasonable should be refused them, they would have some just Ground of Complaint; but thus to move, Day after Day, for all Letters, all Instructions, sent to his Majesty's Ministers at the several Courts of *Europe* in general, is a Method of proceeding, altogether new in this House; and if these Motions were complied with, I can see nothing they could possibly tend to, but to the increasing of the Troubles already begun in *Europe*: This would, as I take it, be one of the certain Consequences of the Motion now made; and therefore, as a Person no Way concerned in the Administration, but as a Member of this House, I shall heartily give my Negative to the Question.

H——o W——le, Esq; Sir, after what has been said by my Hon. Friend, it may, perhaps, be thought, that I give both this House and myself unnecessary Trouble in urging any Thing farther against the Question before us. If we should agree to this Motion, it would, in my Opinion, be shewing a very great Disrespect to his Majesty; for as his Majesty has in his Speech assured us, that he had no Share in those Measures which have occasioned the present War, other than by his good Offices; and as this Motion, if it means any Thing, means to insinuate, that his Majesty has had a Share in the late Transactions relating to the Election of a King of *Poland*; our agreeing to it, would plainly be, to tell his Majesty that we suspect he has had a very great Share in those Measures which gave Occasion to the present War; and therefore, Sir, I have a better Opinion of this House, than to believe that they will ever agree to a Motion so inconsistent with that Duty and Respect, which we have expressed in our Address of Thanks to his Majesty.

C There are some Gentlemen, Sir, who seem to have laid it down as a Principle, that every Thing that's wrong, happen in what Corner of *Europe* it will, must be owing to the Mismanagement of the Ministers of *Great Britain*; and they do all they can to persuade other People to think in the same Manner; but to imagine, that if any wrong Steps have been made by any Power in *Europe*, with Regard to the Election of a King of *Poland*, they must be owing to the Misconduct of our Ministers, or to imagine, that any Instructions given to our Minister in *Poland* in 1729, can have any Relation to what has lately happened in that or any other Kingdom, has really something so ridiculous in it, that I can hardly believe the Gentleman was in earnest, when he made the Motion. From such Motions it may be expected, that in a few Days some Gentleman will rise up and move for the Instructions sent to the Lord *Kinnorule*, at *Constantinople*, in order to prove from them, that the Defeat given to the *Bashaw Topal Osman*, by the *Persian General Kouli Kan*, was owing to the Ministry here.

F The same Gentlemen have of late pretended to be very dexterous, not only in discovering the hidden Causes of Things past, but in prophesying and foretelling future Events. I have lately seen a Pamphlet, which was, I suppose, wrote by one of those prophetic Gentlemen; but I am afraid they, like all other false Prophets, will very soon come to loose Credit, even among those who are now their most implicit Believers. When any Event has actually come to pass, they cry, O! this we told you long ago; and thus they pretend to have foretold every great Event that has lately happened in *Europe*; but I would gladly ask them, where or when any of them have pro-

prophefied, what Potentate, or in what Manner any Potentate, would interfere in the Election of a King of Poland? Have any of them prophefied, that the King of Sardinia would grant a Passage to the French Troops thro' his Territories, to Italy? or did they prophefy, that he would join with France in declaring War againft the Emperor? Have any of them prophefied, that the two ftrong Forts of Milan and Pizzigibione, that might have been reasonably fupposed to have held out a Siege of 5 or 6 Months, fhould have been taken in a few Weeks? In fhort, Sir, they have pretended to foretel every Thing, and have really foretold nothing; but this being a Digreffion, I fhall fay no more about it. As to the Motion itfelf, it appears to me in fuch an odd Light, that I dare fay, the Gentleman who made it, when he confiders better of it, will rather withdraw it, than have it ftand in the Votes of this Houfe; if he does not, I fhall certainly give my Negative to it.

Sir C—s W—g—r. Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who fpoke laft having mentioned Pamphlets, brings to my Mind, that I have lately feen one, which I believe I fhould not have read, had I not been told that my Name was mentioned in it. 'Tis true, that, about the Time mentioned in that Pamphlet, we were obliged to fit out fome Squadrons of Men of War; and though I thought myfelf then old enough to be laid afide, yet I had the Honour to be appointed, by his Majefty, Commander of fome of them: With one of thofe Squadrons I failed to the Baltick, for the Relief of Sweden, which was then in a very dangerous Situation, the Muscovites having then a large Squadron at Sea, with which they were plundering and ravaging their Cofts, at the fame Time that they were at tackling them with a numerous Army by Land. The very News of our fitting out fuch a Squadron had fo good an Effect, that before I had arrived at Stockholm, the Muscovites had agreed to conclude a Peace with Sweden, upon reasonable Terms; fo that when I came to Stockholm, I was told by the Court, that they had no farther Occafion for our Fleet; but the Fright the poor People were in, upon all the Parts of that Coaft, which I touched at, and the Joy they expreffed on feeing our Fleet, was a plain Demonftration of the Danger they thought themfelves in.

I went afterwards, Sir, to the Cofts of Spain, with another Squadron, where I cruized and looked out with all poffible Care for the Spanifh Flotilla, then expected home; they, indeed, had the good Fortune to efcape me, but if the Gentleman who wrote that Pamphlet knew the Place I was obliged to cruize in, and the only Place I could properly cruize in, for the intercepting of the Flotilla, and if he knew the great Seas that roll there in the Winter, he would not have had Occa-

tion for long Nights, or foggy Weather, as a Reafon for my having miffed the Flotilla; he would have known, that at that Time of the Year they might have paffed even within my View, without its being in my Power either to come up with them, or to fire a Gun at them: But Gentlemen often censure other People's Actions, becaufe they know nothing of the Matter, and are quite ignorant of many Circumftances, neceffary to be known, before they can form a right Judgment about what they take upon them to criticife.

I have, Sir, ferved as an Officer in the Navy ever fince the Revolution, and, I hope, I have hitherto ferved without the leaft Reproach: I am fure I have always endeavoured to ferve my Country to the utmoft of my Power; and therefore I hope Gentlemen will take Care not to throw any Reflections upon my Conduct. But fome People feem to think, that, with our Squadrons, we may do whatever we pleafe, and that, if a Squadron is fitted out we muft fight, whether there be any Occafion or no; I believe they think that, with the laft Squadron we had at Spithead, we ought to have fought the Dutch, who came and joined us, rather than not to have fought at all; but furely this, as it is a very monftrous Opinion, cannot be a general one. We may perhaps this Year fit out a Squadron, and poffibly they too may go no further than Spithead; they certainly will not, unlefs there be a Neceffity for proceeding further; but when all our Neighbours are fitting out Squadrons, and making great military Preparations, it would furely be very imprudent in us, not to put ourfelves at leaft in a Pofture of Defence.

W—m P—ney, Efq; Sir, I am very apt to believe, my Hon. Friend over the Way, who made you this Motion, was very ferialous, as he always is in every Motion he makes in this Houfe. The Reafon he gave for his Motion was a very ftrong one, fo ftrong that it has not as yet met with any Answer; for if it fhould appear, that we, at the Time he mentions, concerted Meafures in Conjunction with other Powers, for regulating or influencing the next Election of a King of Poland, and that the Plan then laid down has been fince purfued, thefe Inftuctions will certainly inform us; and from thence we may know a little more of our prefent Situation than we now do: But I find, Sir, if the Opinion of fome Gentlemen prevail, we are to have no Information at all; and in that Cafe, how we can anfwer his Majefty's Expectations, who defires our Advice and Affiftance, I leave to every one to judge.

The Hon. Gentleman who fpoke laft but one talk'd of Prophecies, and asked what thofe Prophets had prophefied; had they, faid he, prophefied this? or had they prophefied that? What Prophets or Prophecies he means

I do not know ; but I may say, that without any great Spirit of Prophecy, the Moment you separated the Courts of *Vienna* and *Spain*, every Thing that has since happened might have been easily foretold. The Gentleman likewise talked of Pamphlets: I, Sir, have likewise seen a Pamphlet, lately publish'd, and whether from the Stile it is wrote in, or the Perplexity in the Way of Thinking, which is discovered in every Part of it, I think I can be almost certain as to the Author of it. (*Here he gave a Description of the Person he supposed to be the Author of it.*) The Whole of this fine Performance results in this, that the Nation is in a very bad Situation; something must be done; but what, the Author does not know: If we do one Thing, we are still in the same Situation as before, perhaps worse; if we do another Thing, our Case will still be the same: In short, he at last leaves us in the same wretched Condition he found us; upon which, Sir, I must suppose this Case: Suppose a Physician to have a Patient for some Time under his Hands; the Patient lingers and decays, and at last finds himself in so weak a Condition, that he begins to despair; the Physician's sent for, the Patient complains, and asks what must be done? The Doctor answers gravely, Sir, you are indeed in a very bad State: There are but two or three Ways of treating your Distemper, and I am afraid neither of them will do; a Vomit may throw you into Convulsions, and kill you at once; a Purge may give you a Diarrhea, which would certainly carry you off in a short Time; and to bleed you, Sir, I have already bled you so much and so often, that you can bear it no longer: In such a Situation would not the Patient probably exclaim against his Doctor, and say, Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular Physician, but I have found you to be an arrant Quack; I had an excellent Constitution when I came first into your Hands, but you have quite destroyed it; and now I have no other Chance for saving my Life, but by calling for the Help of some regular Physicians.

But, Sir, to be altogether serious, for the Subject is really of a very serious Nature; if Gentlemen have a Mind to do something for the Safety of the Nation in our present melancholy Circumstances, and seriously to ask the Advice and Assistance of Parliament, those Things that are necessary for our Information, must not be denied: Their being refused by a Majority, which seems to be almost the only Argument urged by those who oppose these Motions, will not have any Weight with the Nation; Gentlemen, 'tis true, must acquiesce in what is done by the Majority, but it will not have all that Force without Doors, as some may imagine. I know, Sir, it is not allowable to say any Thing against

what is done by a Majority of this House; but there are certain Methods of Speaking, which are not against Order, and which might, notwithstanding, make Gentlemen feel, that an Answer could be given, even to that unanswerable Argument, of its having been done by a Majority.

A I have known, Sir, in former Parliaments, most scandalous Things done by a corrupt Majority; any Thing's being done or resolved on by a Majority even of this House, will not make it right, nor convince the Nation that it is so: We know, Sir, what Opinion the whole Nation had of that wicked Scheme, which was before us last Session; we know what Abhorrence they still have of it, and of many of those who voted for it; and yet that Scheme, to use an honourable Person's own Words, was attended with a Majority in every Division; but this is foreign to the Question, I only mention it to shew how unfairly that Argument of a Majority is urged by those of the other Side.

C In a late Debate, Sir, Gentlemen found Fault with the Question then moved, because of its being too general: They desired we would be a little more particular, and lay our Finger on some Paper or Papers relating to some particular Transaction, which might give us the Information we desired: The Election of a King of *Poland*, and the Measures taken by certain Powers for influencing, or rather directing that Election, has D been owned on all Hands to have been what has given Rise to the present Troubles in *Europe*; and now when the particular Instructions, relating to that particular Affair, which were sent to our Minister at that Court, only for one Year, and that too several Years ago, are moved for, still we are told by the same Gentlemen, you are not particular enough, your Demands are unreasonable; ask but what is reasonable, and we will give it you, provided the Majority agree to it: At this Rate it is impossible for Gentlemen who are entirely ignorant of our late foreign Transactions to ask for any Thing; for it is not to be presumed, that any Man can ask for any particular Paper, from which this House could get a proper Information, even as to any particular Transaction, unless he knew very exactly the whole Series of that Transaction, and all other Transactions relating to it.

G The Hon. Gentleman by me has been pleased to declare his Willingness to enter into the most strict Enquiry; and for that Purpose has promised a great deal of Condescension, as to the laying before the House whatever Papers might be thought necessary for their Information; but what has all this come to? Why, he and the Majority have condescended to give us a Treaty, which has long ago been in Print, and published in, I believe,

believe, most of the Countries of *Europe*. I must say, Sir, that such Treatment is intolerable; I do not know what Name to give it; but I shall avoid giving Names: I would not willingly sling the first Stone, but if any Stone be flung at me, I shall always be ready to sling it back again.

H-----W-----le, Esq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, ended his Speech with saying, that he would not willingly sling the first Stone; but it seems he had then forgot what he had said but a very little before, by which, if he did not sling a Stone, he, at least, in my Opinion, threw a very great Pebble at the whole House: After having told us, that it was not allowable to say any Thing against what was done by the Majority, he said, that there were, notwithstanding, some Methods of Speaking, which were not against Order, and by which Gentlemen might be made to feel, that an Answer might be given to what the Majority had thought unanswerable; then he talked of scandalous Things having been done in former Parliaments by a corrupt Majority: Now, Sir, I would be glad to know how this House can feel any Thing that is said of former Parliaments, unless it be meant, that the present Parliament is of the same Nature with the former Parliaments talked of: This, Sir, as I have said, seems to be a very great Pebble thrown at the whole House; besides the Dirt he had before flung at the supposed Author of a Pamphlet lately publish'd, whom he took Care to describe so particularly, that, I believe, every Gentleman thinks, the Author, or at least the supposed Author, is now speaking to you; but I can freely declare, that I am not the Author of it; I have indeed read it, and I believe the greatest Quarrel that Gentleman and his Friends have with it, is, that they do not know how to answer it.

The Hon. Gentleman likewise mentioned the Case of a Patient and his Physician; but I leave the World to judge, who most deserve the Appellation of Quacks, they who have the proper Degrees, and practise in a regular Manner, or that Gentleman's Friends, who have been for some Years past dispersing their Quack Bills round the Country, exclaiming against all those in the regular Practice, and endeavouring to persuade People in good Health that they are in a dangerous Condition; and that if they do not immediately discharge all their regular Physicians, and swallow their Quack Powders, they must inevitably perish.

But, Sir, to be serious, as the Gentleman said, upon this Subject, tho' I cannot think that the Subject is so serious as he would represent; if those Gentlemen would fairly enter into the Consideration of the State of the Nation, I will defy that Gentleman or any other, to shew that those in the Administration have acted any Part, or entered in-

to any Measures, but what were, at the Time they were transacted, the most consistent with the Interest of *Great Britain*, of any that could then be thought of. Gentlemen may call the present Administration a shifting Administration; they may say they have wheeled about from Court to Court; but on Enquiry it will appear, that they have never shifted or wheeled, but when the Interest of their Country required it; and that if there has been any shifting or wheeling, it was always owing to a Change of the Measures at other Courts: As long as any Power in Alliance with us, continued to act agreeably to the Interest of *Great Britain*, so long we continued firm to them; but when any of them began to enter into Measures directly opposite to our Interest, we then likewise changed our Measures, and had Recourse to other Powers, who, from that Moment, became our more natural Allies: This, Sir, has been the Method always observ'd by those in the Administration; but I know who have shifted and wheeled with quite another View than that of the Interest of *Great Britain*; when we were in Friendship with *France*, they were caballing with the Ministers and Agents of the Emperor; when the Face of Affairs changed, and our Friendship with the Emperor was restored, they then caballed with the Ministers and Agents of *France*; and thus they have been always in the greatest Friendship with those who have been most at Enmity with their native Country.

In short, Sir, those Gentlemen who call themselves Patriots, have laid this down as a fixt Principle, that they must always oppose the Measures resolved on by the King's Ministers, and consequently must always endeavour to shew that those Measures are wrong; and this, Sir, I take to be the only Reason why they have been as yet so silent as to a certain Subject, in which the Interest of their Country is very much concerned: Their Language at present is, as I suppose, do not let us declare our Opinion; let us wait till we know what Part the Ministry takes, and then let us endeavour to shew that they ought to have acted quite otherwise: If I may be allowed to use a low Simile, they treat the Ministry as I am treated by some Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, with Respect to my Dress; if I am in plain Cloaths, they then say I am a slovenly dirty Fellow; and if by Chance I have on a Suit of lac'd Cloaths, they cry, what, shall such an awkward Fellow wear fine Cloaths? So that no Dress I can appear in can possibly please them. But to conclude, Sir, the Case of the Nation under the present Administration has been the same with what it always has been, and must be; for to use another Simile, which my worthy Friend over the Way, whom I have in my Eye, will understand;

As long as the Wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed Port, the Word was, *steddy* — *steddy*; but when the Wind began to shift, the Word came then necessarily to be, thus — thus, and no nearer.

Sir *W* — *m W* — *nd* — *m* stood up next; whereupon Mr. *S* — *r* got up, and said, that Gentlemen had so much run away from the Question in Debate, that, before he began he would beg Leave to read the Question. Then Sir *W* — *m* went on as follows, *viz.* I shall take Care, Sir, to confine myself as strictly to the Question as possible, tho' those Gentlemen who have spoke against it, have made such long Digressions, and traversed so many Parts of *Europe*, that it is difficult to say any Thing in Answer to what they have advanced, and at the same Time to keep close to the Question. As to the Digressions the Gentlemen have run into, I shall not give the House much Trouble about them; and as to Arguments, the only two that I have heard made use of, or so much as hinted at, against the Question, are, that the agreeing to the Motion would be shewing a Disrespect to his Majesty; and, that if it should be agreed to, it could be of no Service, as to the giving us any Information about our present Circumstances.

It is said, Sir, that the agreeing to this Motion would be shewing a Disrespect to his Majesty, because it would be shewing a Sort of Suspicion, that his Majesty has had a Share in those Transactions which have given Occasion to the present War, tho' he has, in his Speech, declared, he has had no Share in them. The Answer to this Objection is plain; we all know, it has always been allowed in this House, that Speeches from the Throne are the Speeches of the Minister, and on that Supposition it has always been thought, that neither this House, nor any Member of it is guilty of any Disrespect to his Majesty, by examining and canvassing with all Freedom every Sentence of the Speech from the Throne; even the Facts there asserted may be denied, and if on Examination it should be found, that they are false, the Minister ought and certainly would answer severely for it. This is the very Case now before us: It is allowed of all Hands, that the Election of a King of *Poland* is the principal Cause of the present War; and to tell us, that his Majesty has said, he has had no Share in that Transaction, and that therefore we must not enquire into it, is a direct begging of the Question: The Ministers are the only Persons we can suppose to have said so, and there are other Gentlemen who affirm, or, at least, suspect the contrary: This is a Fact then that is controverted; this is the Fact we are to enquire into; and when a Motion is made for having those Papers laid before us, which are necessary for giving us some

Lights into this Affair, shall Gentlemen be told, such a Motion is improper, because inconsistent with that Respect we have professed for his Majesty, in our Address of Thanks? If this House can be persuaded to accept of such an Excuse, if a Majority can be prevailed on to join in such a Method, those Gentlemen who can so prevail upon them, may throw out as many Defiances as they please: They are the sole Masters of all the Proofs that are necessary for, or can be made use of on any Enquiry; and they are, it seems, resolved to continue so.

Whether this House, Sir, can have any proper Information from the Instructions now called for, as to the Fact in Dispute at present, is what I shall not take on me to determine, nor can it be, in my Opinion, determined, by any one in this House; but to me it seems very probable, that we may from these Instructions receive some Lights which may enable us to determine how this Nation stands engaged, with Respect to the War now carrying on in *Europe*, since the principal Reason of that War is allowed to be founded on the late Election of a King of *Poland*. Gentlemen may, if they please, pretend Ignorance, but it is very certain, the late K. of *Poland* was in 1729 in a very bad Condition, as to his Health, and therefore it seems certain, that some Measures must have been concerted, relating to the then future Election of a King of *Poland*; whether we had any, and what Share in those Measures, is what this House now wants to enquire into, and to me it seems most evident, that the seeing of those Instructions is absolutely necessary for this End. 'Tis true, the King of *Poland* did recover a little, and did live for a few Years after, but he never was after that in a State of perfect Health, and, consequently, it is most reasonable to believe, that the Measures then concerted were the same with, or, at least, did very much influence the Measures pursued on the Demise of that King: If we had no Share in the Transactions at that Time carried on in *Poland*, no Secret can be discovered by the laying of those Instructions before this House; and if we had any Share in those Transactions, it cannot be said, I think, that we have had no Manner of Share in those Transactions which have occasioned the present War in *Europe*.

What Share we had in those Transactions, till I see those Instructions, it is impossible for me to say; but from the Lights I already have, it appears evident to me, that we have had a very large Share in all the other Negotiations lately carried on in *Europe*. Did not we procure the Introduction of the first *Spanish* Forces in *Italy*? Are not we Guarantees for all Don *Carlos's* Rights and Possessions in *Italy*? Are not we Guarantees for all the Emperor's Rights and Possessions in *Italy*?
Are

Are not we Guarantees even for the Pragmatic Sanction in its full Extent? I believe we are under Engagements to every one of the Northern Powers; and I have heard, we are under some Engagements to *France*; so that let a War have broke out between any two Powers in *Europe*, it will be difficult to shew, that we had no Hand in the Transactions which gave Occasion to it; on the contrary, I believe it will appear, that each of them might have justly made Demands upon us; and this, Sir, is our present unhappy Situation: If this shews great Wisdom, or regular Practice (as the Gentleman was pleased to call it) in those at the Helm, I leave to the World to judge: We have been running all over *Europe*, and entering into Engagements with every Prince and State in *Europe*, and all this without any national Benefit in View, but generally to the great Detriment of our domestick Affairs, and often to the great Interruption of our Trade in all Parts of the World; and how probable it may be, that the same Wisdom, which has brought us into this Situation, will be able to extricate us out of it, is a Question which may be easily resolved.

We were told, Sir, the first Day of the Session, that we were to concert Measures, and to act in Conjunction with Powers who are under the same Engagements with us, and have not taken Part in the present War, more particularly the States General: But I would gladly know, if we have hitherto taken any one Step in Conjunction with them? Is it not well known, that in most Cases we have lately made the first Step by ourselves, and then have, with great Difficulty and Expence, prevailed on them to follow us, which they never did, but on their own Terms, and under great Restrictions and Reservations: They have now indeed done something for their own Security, but I believe, without any Thing of our Participation; they did not so much, I believe, as consult with us upon the Head, which looks as if they had some Distrust of our Power, or as if they thought they could not put any Confidence in the Counsels of this Nation; and if our most natural Allies should once begin to harbour such an Opinion of us, we may then conclude, there is no Dependence on their Friendship or Alliance.

In short, Sir, if his Majesty expects our Advice upon the present State of Affairs; if his Majesty expects the Assistance of Parliament in the present Exigency, we must be informed how our Affairs stand, before we can in a proper parliamentary Way give either our Advice or Assistance: It was with this View, and this only, that some Papers have been already called for, which have indeed been refused by a Majority; it is with this View only, that the Papers mentioned in the Mo-

tion before us are asked for; and if they likewise be refused by a Majority, we may, perhaps, give his Majesty such Assistance as his Ministers shall please to ask; but I am sure we can give him no Advice, nor can we give a Reason for what we do.

Mr. C——r of the E——r. I will agree with the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that the present Posture of Affairs does require, and his Majesty expects the Assistance of Parliament; but I will say, that the present Motion, and some such lately made, had the House agreed to them, would have tended to increase the present Confusions abroad, rather than to have given any real Assistance to ourselves or others. I believe, Sir, there is not a Court in *Europe*, whether engaged in the present War, or otherwise, but expected to have known by the 17th of this Month, what Part *Great Britain* was to have taken in the present War; as yet it remains unresolved, or, at least, a Secret, and it is the Interest of *Britain* it should continue so; but some Gentlemen seem inclined not only to precipitate their Country into a Resolution, but to publish that Resolution, as soon as taken, to the whole World; and which Side deserves most the Thanks of their Country, those who are for our coming to no Resolution till we have fully examined the Circumstances of Affairs, and even then concealing our Resolutions, till we are just ready to carry them into Execution; or those who are for our coming to a hasty Resolution, and immediately publishing it to the World, that our Enemies may have Time to provide against it, I leave to the World to judge.

Whatever other Gentlemen may think, Sir, it is my Opinion, that our Situation is much better than can well be expected; and when ever that Matter shall be examined into, I believe it will appear, that our present Situation is the very best that the Nation could possibly be in, with Relation to the present Posture of the Affairs of *Europe*. The Gentleman who spoke last mention'd the States of *Holland*, and that they had done something for their own Security; 'tis true, they have done something, they have entered into a Treaty of Neutrality; whereas we have remained entirely in a State of Inaction; but on this very Account, I think, we are in a much better Condition than they; by that Neutrality they have engaged not to act at all, nor to concern themselves in the present War; we are still at Liberty, and may, on any Event, take that Part which shall then appear most for the Interest of *Great Britain*.

I do not believe, Sir, that the States-General, or any other Power has less Trust in the Strength, or less Confidence in the Counsels of this Nation than formerly; but if it were so, I should not wonder at it, when every Post tells them, that we are a divided

Nation, and that there is no Dependence to be had upon our present Counsels, because great Alterations are soon to happen, which must necessarily produce a thorough Change in all our publick Measures; and upon this Consideration I leave it to every impartial Man to judge, if we are in any unhappy Situation, who have contributed most to it, those who have honestly and faithfully served the Crown, or those who have made it their Business, for some Years, to do all in their Power to distress every Measure of his Majesty's Government; and that too in Conjunction with a Person who I believe will never be trusted by any Court in *Europe*.

His Majesty, in his Speech, has told us, that he is not any Way engaged in the present War, and that he will take Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, before he comes to any Determination; when he has done so, it is not to be doubted but that he will lay all the Informations he can get before his Parliament, and will take their Advice, what Part the Nation ought to take in the then Conjunction; why then should we endeavour to anticipate his Majesty's wise Designs? Why should we run headlong and plunge the Nation into a War, by joining either one Side or the other, before his Majesty has had any Time to examine into the Posture of Affairs abroad? This seems indeed to be the View of some Gentlemen, but surely such a rash Proceeding would rather increase, than diminish the Unhappiness of our present Situation; and is far from that Coolness and Temper which ought to be shewn, when the very Salvation of our Country depends on the Prudence and Unanimity of our Resolves.

An Hon. Gentleman, Sir, who spoke some Time ago, took indeed a great deal of Liberty in talking of Majorities; but I would have Gentlemen to know, that when they talk of such Majorities at present, they speak of their Equals as Members of this House, of their Equals on any Ground in *England*; let Gentlemen but cast their Eyes round the House, and they will find a Number of Gentlemen superior to the highest Number of their Minority, who can as little be suspected of Corruption, as any of those who generally appear on the Minority Side of the Question.

It is easy for Gentlemen to represent the Measures lately taken by the Government as unwise, inconsistent, and the like; but when the Day comes for enquiring into them, which I as heartily wish for as any in this House, I believe those Measures will appear in a quite different Light; and those Gentlemen who may, perhaps, have hearkened to every little Whisper of some of the Foreign Ministers, at this Court, which is, I believe, the only Foundation for what they have asserted, will find themselves at last sorely disappointed. Whenever such an Enquiry shall be resolved on, I

doubt not but the Majority of this House will agree to call for every Paper that can be thought necessary for giving a full Information of the present State of the Nation: But this is not the Question at present, nor are we now to enquire whether his Majesty has had any Share in those Transactions which have given Occasion to the present War; and therefore I cannot think we have, at present, any thing to do with any Instructions to his Majesty's Ministers in *Poland*, or elsewhere.

His Majesty, 'tis true, expects the Assistance of his Parliament; but for what? He does not immediately expect such an Assistance as to enable him to take any Part in the present War; he wants only such as may enable him to put the Nation in a proper Posture of Defence; and surely we may determine what will be necessary for that End, without enquiring into any of our foreign Negotiations. It is for this Reason, Sir, that I think the House has done right in rejecting all the Motions hitherto made for Letters and Instructions relating to our foreign Affairs; and, for the same Reason, I make no doubt, but they will likewise reject the present Motion.

The Question was then put upon the Motion, and upon a Division was carried in the Negative 202 against 114.

Motion about good Offices.

Immediately after this, *E—d W—ll—r*, Esq; Member for *Great M—w* in *Buckinghamshire*, rose up, and after a short Speech, moved, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to communicate to that House, how far he had been engaged, by his good Offices, in those Transactions, which had been declared to be the principal Causes and Motives of the War, which was then begun and carried on against the Emperor, with so much Vigour, by the united Powers of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*. [See the King's Speech, P. 43.]

Which Motion was seconded; and, after a short Debate, the Question was put upon it, and carried in the Negative, without a Division.

DEBATE on the Motion for addressing to know what Applications have been made to his Majesty, &c.

Then *S—l S—ys*, Esq; stood up, and said, that tho' the Motion he had just before made had been rejected, yet, as he never proposed any thing, but what he thought just and reasonable, he was not therefore apt to be discouraged; and for that Reason he would beg Leave to make another Motion, which he hoped would meet with better Success: His Motion was, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to communicate to that House, what Application had been made to him by the several Parties then engaged in the War, founded upon Treaties or other Engagements,

gements. This Motion was seconded by Sir J—n R—t.

H—y P—b—m, Esq; It is very true, Sir, that the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion is not very apt to be discouraged; but however he may flatter himself with Success in his present Motion, it is, in my Opinion, so much of a Kin to his former, that I can see no Reason he has to expect, that it should have a different Fate. His Majesty has already told us, that he was no way engaged in the present War, nor had had any Share in those Transactions which gave Rise to it; and therefore 'tis not to be presumed, that any Power engaged has made any Application to him, founded upon Treaties or other Engagements. Some of them might perhaps have made an Application to his Majesty for his Assistance; but even such an Application was not to be presumed, because, had any such been made, it was not to be doubted, but that his Majesty, in his Speech, would have taken some Notice of it. As this Question, Sir, is of the same Nature with the former moved by that Gentleman, and founded upon the same Jealousy of his Majesty's Conduct, it is impossible for me to have any thing new to urge against it; but I believe it is as impossible for any Gentleman in this House to say any thing new in favour of it, and therefore I shall give the House no further Trouble, only to declare, that I shall give my Negative to it, as well as I did to the former.

W—m P—ney, Esq; Sir, Whatever Light the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last may take the present Motion in, I think it must bear a very different Consideration from that formerly made by my worthy Friend. I believe it will not be denied, but we are under some Engagements to every one, or, at least, to most of the Powers engaged in the present War; and whatever we may at present pretend to think of those Engagements, it is very probable, that those to whom we are engaged think otherwise: It is not to be doubted, but that some of them think we are, by the Engagements we have entered into, obliged to assist them, on the present Emergency; and it is pretty well known, that they have made Application for an immediate Performance of those Engagements. I have heard, that 10000 Land Forces, or some such Number, has been actually demanded by one of the Powers engaged in the War; I will not, indeed, affirm the Truth of it, tho' I have something more than the Whisper of a foreign Minister to confirm what I say.

It is well known, Sir, that in most of the Engagements we have entered into, it is left optional to the Power we are engaged with, to demand our Quota in a Squadron of Ships, a certain Sum of Money, or a certain Number of Troops; and as we are to go into a Com-

mittee on the Supply on Monday next, there is nothing more reasonable, than that the House should be informed of what Demands have been made upon us, and whether those Demands have been for Ships, Money, or Men, before we go into that Committee; for without such Information it will be impossible for us to know how to come to such Resolutions as may be most for the Safety and Honour of the Nation. The Motion is therefore so far from being unreasonable, that it is necessary it should be complied with; and if it is not, I cannot see how we can properly go into the Committee upon the Supply.

Sir W—m Y—ge. Sir, I can see no Reason why the House may not be fully prepared for going into the Committee of Supply, tho' this Motion should be rejected as the others have been; and therefore I do not think it necessary to enter into the Debate at present, whether the Motion be reasonable or no; there may be another Time for that Question, and for that Reason I shall now only move for the previous Question.

W—m P—ney, Esq; Sir, I find the Gentleman who spoke last has avoided entering upon the Merits of the Question, and, by a sort of Parliamentary Trick, by moving for the previous Question, he intends, it seems, to put off the Question for this Day, at least; this, in my Opinion, is treating the Question with much greater Indecency than if it were to be fairly argued, and afterwards rejected; for if the Question be delayed till after Monday next, it will then be too late to enter upon the Consideration of it; it will really be in effect first to resolve, and then to enter into the Consideration of what ought to be resolved; and therefore, Sir, I must desire, that the Question may be fairly debated, that Gentlemen would, at least, give us a Reason for what they are to do, and then let the Motion stand or fall upon its own Merits.

Sir W—m Y—ge. I did not, Sir, intend any Trick when I moved for the previous Question; it is what has been always practised in this House, when any Question has been moved which Gentlemen have a Mind to favour so much as not to put a Negative upon it: But even as to the Merits of the Question, it cannot, certainly, have any Relation to any Resolutions we can possibly come to on Monday next; for all the Resolves we come to in that Committee are founded upon Estimates given in, or Demands made, by the Crown; and if any Demand were to be made upon this House, to enable his Majesty to send a Quota either of Ships of War, Money, or Troops, to any Power in Europe, such Demand would certainly be laid before this House by his Majesty's Orders, without putting us to the Trouble of presenting any such Address as is now moved for; there is therefore no Necessity for entering this Day upon the Merits of this

Question; the Gentleman may renew his Motion when he thinks proper, and then I do not doubt but other Gentlemen will debate the Reasonableness of it, and as it appears to the House, it will certainly be agreed to or rejected; but as I do not think this a proper Time for debating it, I must insist upon my Motion.

W—r P—m—r, Esq; Sir, as we shall probably come on *Monday* next to some Resolutions, with Respect to our Seamen, I should think it necessary for this House to know what Demands have been made upon us by our Allies, before we come to any Resolution on that Head; otherwise we may leave Room for those extraordinary Messages and Demands towards the End of a Session, which this Nation has of late been too much accustomed to. The Gentleman who moved the previous Question says, that this is not a proper Time for entering upon the Merits of the Motion, because if any such Application had been made, and his Majesty had resolved to grant what was asked, he would have ordered this to be laid before us, together with the other Estimates and Demands of the current Service of the Year. Is not this, Sir, directly to tell us, that after his Majesty has come to a Determination what Part to act, he will be graciously pleased to take the Advice of Parliament. It is true, Sir, his Majesty has by his Prerogative the Power of making Peace or War: But, Sir, in a Matter of so great Consequence, it has always appeared to be the Interest, nay, I may say, it has always been thought to be the Duty of the Kings of *England*, to take the Advice of their People in Parliament assembled, and not to trust entirely to the Advice of their Ministers; and if any such Demand, as is mentioned in the Motion, has been made by any of his Majesty's Allies, I cannot think it would be any way derogatory to the Prerogative of the Crown, or to the Wisdom of the Ministers, to lay it before the Parliament, whether it ought to be complied with or not.

J—n C—ck—rn, Knight of the Shire for *H—n* in *Scotland*. Sir, I was against the first Motion, because some Gentlemen had assured the House, and I was myself a little afraid, that at present it might tend to increase the Troubles that are now in *Europe*; but the present Motion I take to be of a very different Nature; I am sure that, should it be complied with, no Secrets can thereby be discovered, nor can it possibly tend to increase the present Troubles.

I am old enough, Sir, to remember the Beginning of the first great War against *France*, and I remember, that as soon as the *Dutch* applied to us for our Assistance, King *William* immediately laid the Case before the Parliament, and took their Advice, as to what was proper to be done upon that Emergency,

before he came to any Resolution: Upon the breaking out of the second War, the late Queen did the same, and I must say, that I think every King of this Nation ought to follow that Example; if they expect the Assistance of Parliament, they ought to take the Advice of Parliament; and our Histories will inform us, that where they have done so, they have generally done well, and where they have done otherwise, they have had but little Success; for which Reason I am for agreeing with the Motion now made to us.

The Question was then put upon the previous Question, *viz.* Whether the Question upon the Motion should be then put; which was carried in the Negative, without a Division.

Number of Seamen agreed to.

On *Monday*, *Jan.* 28. the House (according to Order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House on the Supply granted to his Majesty; and came to the following Resolutions, *viz.* That 20,000 Men should be employed for the Sea-Service for the Year 1734, beginning the first Day of *January* 1733. And that 4*l.* per Man per Month should be allowed for maintaining the said 20,000 Men for 13 Months, including the Ordnance for Sea.

These Resolutions were reported next Day to the House, and were agreed to, as they had been in the Committee, without any Debate or Division; only some Gentlemen said, That the Number was certainly either too large or too small; for if we were not to engage in the War, they said, there was no Occasion for keeping such a Number of Seamen in Pay; and if we were to engage in the War, they thought double the Number would scarcely be sufficient: To which it was answered, That tho' we were not to engage in the War, yet, as some of our Neighbours were fitting out large Squadrons, and making great military Preparations, almost at our very Door, it was absolutely necessary to put the Nation in a better State of Defence, than during the Time of a profound Peace; and as our Fleet was our chief Bulwark, it was most proper to apply the greatest Part of our Expence that Way, and to have a strong Squadron ready to put to Sea on any Occasion.

Druggists PETITION, and DEBATE thereon.

On *Feb.* 4. a Petition of the Druggists, Grocers, China-Men, and others dealing in Tea, was presented to the House and read; alledging, That by an Act passed in the 10th of King *George* I. the Petitioners were induced to hope, that the Duty arising from Tea would be better secured to his Majesty, and the Interest of the fair Trader be better supported, but have fatally experienced the contrary Effects; the clandestine Importation of Tea being greatly increased,

increased, to the Damage of the publick Revenue, and Ruin of the fair Trader, occasioned by the great Difference of the Value of that Commodity at this and foreign Markets, whereby the Smugglers are enabled to purchase it abroad for less than half the Duty paid here: That the Regulations which the Petitioners are laid under, are most burthensome and grievous, their Houses being liable to be entered by Persons unknown to them, and their Properties subjected to the judicial Determination of Commissioners: That the Petitioners are liable to severe Penalties for Errors and Omissions absolutely unavoidable, and restrained from disposing of their Goods, after having paid Duty for the same, without Permits from the Officers of the Inland Duties, expressing the Names and Places of Abode of the respective Buyers and Sellers, exposing thereby the Extent and Circumstances of their Trade; whereby the Petitioners conceived they were in a worse Condition than any other of his Majesty's Subjects; and therefore praying the House to give them such Relief as to the House should seem meet.

This Petition was presented by Sir Jⁿ B^{rr}-nd, who, after he had brought it up, and the same was read at the Table, stood up, and spoke to the following Effect. Sir, as this Petition is the same with that which was presented last Session, (See Vol. II. p. 606.) I need not take up much of your Time in opening it to the House. The Petitioners apprehend they labour under very great Grievances by their being subject to the Laws of Excise; and as this House in the very last Session thought it unreasonable to subject some other Traders and Dealers to those oppressive Laws, the Petitioners think they have Reason from thence to conclude, that this House will be ready to relieve them from those Burdens.

When this Petition was presented last Year, the chief Objection to it was, that it was signed only by a few, and those not the most considerable Dealers in that Commodity; but this Objection is now entirely removed, for I believe, there is not one Dealer in that Commodity, I am sure not a considerable Dealer in London, who has not joined in, and signed this Petition.

The great Frauds committed in the running of Tea, which are daily encreasing, are now become a very great and general Grievance, not only with Respect to the Publick, but to the fair Trader: It is impossible for a Man who honestly pays the heavy Duties on the Commodity he deals in to sell so cheap as the Smuggler; and therefore if some Stop is not speedily put to the infamous Practice of Smuggling, we may expect that in a few Years the whole Trade of the Kingdom, in so far as relates to our home Consumpt of that Commodity, will be got into the Hands of Smugglers only, and the Retailers who

buy from them. It was expected, that the Alteration made some Years ago in the Method of collecting those Duties, would have prevented this infamous Practice: When that Project was first set on Foot, I remember, some People were mighty fond of it; they assured us, it would entirely put an End to Smuggling; but Experience has taught us the contrary, for since that Alteration the Trade of Smuggling has been much more general than ever it was before; so that we have subjected a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects to infinite Hardships, without gaining thereby any Advantage to the Publick.

As this Practice of Smuggling, which has of late so much encreased, must be likewise a considerable Detriment to the publick Revenue, the Petitioners have this other View, that they hope we shall take the Affair again into our Consideration, and endeavour to contrive some Methods to prevent this infamous Practice: If then the Relief of a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they justly complain of; if the Encouragement of the fair Trader; if the encreasing of the publick Revenue, are Considerations which ought to weigh with a British Parliament, I am sure the Case now before us, deserves the utmost Regard of this House; and therefore I cannot doubt of the Petition's being referr'd to a Committee, and when we go into that Committee, I do not doubt, but several Gentlemen will offer their Opinions, and propose Expedients for the Relief of the Petitioners, as well as for the Advantage of the Revenue; but as these Things cannot properly come now under our Consideration, I shall not give the House any farther Trouble at present, but only to move, that the Petition may be referred to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

A——n P^{rr}-y. As my Hon. Friend, Sir, has fully open'd the Petition, and as it is a Matter of such Consequence, that I make no Doubt of his Motion's being complied with; I think there is nothing incumbent on me at present more than to second the Motion he has made.

T——s W——n, Esq; I can by no Means, Sir, agree with the two Hon. Gentlemen, in the Motion they have now made you. I will, indeed, agree with them, that the relieving of any Number of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they justly complain of, the encouraging of the fair Trader, and the encreasing the publick Revenue, are Matters of a very great Concern, and always deserve the utmost Attention of this House, when they are regularly and properly brought before us; but I cannot think that this Petition can properly bring either of them before us, nor can I think that it is now a proper Time to go into a Committee upon this or any

any such Petition. Nothing can be proposed in Consequence of this Petition, but what may diminish the Revenue; and as we are in a Manner now just upon the Brink of a War, I think it would be very unwise to do any Thing that may possibly diminish that Revenue, for which we may soon have so great an Occasion.

As to the infamous Practice of Smuggling, and the Frauds committed in that Branch of the Revenue, which the Petition relates to, I believe every Gentleman would be willing to do something to prevent it if possible; but the Method, which seems to be proposed by this Petition, appears to me in a very strange Light: It has been found, they say, that the Laws of Excise joined with those of the Customs, have not been effectual for preventing all those Frauds; and therefore Gentlemen propose, that we should take off one of these Checks, and indeed that which must be acknowledged the most effectual of the two, in order to prevent Running for the future. I am sure, Sir, I need not say any Thing to convince Gentlemen, that this Proposition cannot be supposed to tend to the Encouragement of the fair Trader, or to the Encrease of the Revenue; and as to the Petitioners, if they are all fair Traders, they must acknowledge, that it would be so far from giving them any Relief, that it would entirely ruin them.

I should be glad, Sir, to hear any Thing proposed for the Benefit of the fair Trader, or the Security of the Revenue; but for us to go into a Committee upon that Subject, when no Gentleman can say, there is any particular Method or Scheme to be proposed, would be taking up the Time of the House to no Purpose. Besides, Sir, if there were any Methods or Schemes to be proposed to us, for putting an End to Fraud and Smuggling, it is not now a proper Time for us to enter into the Consideration of them: As it is now the last Session of a Parliament, and considering the present Posture of the Affairs of Europe, it must be presumed that the short Time we have to sit will be taken up in Matters of very great Weight, and which require a more immediate Consideration. There cannot be any great Inconvenience in putting off this Affair to another Session, and therefore I must be against the Motion now made, and shall move that the Petition may be ordered to lie upon the Table.

A——n P——y. When this Motion was made, Sir, by my Hon. and worthy Friend, I did not apprehend it would have met with any Opposition, and therefore I gave the House no other Trouble than just to second the Motion; but now that I find the Hon. Gentleman, who spoke last, opposes the Motion, I hope I shall be indulged a few Words in Support of it. It has always been my Opi-

nion, Sir, that while we sit here, no Time can be improper for taking into our Consideration a Petition signed by such a Number of considerable Traders, complaining of Grievances they apprehend themselves under: The hearing of Complaints from the Subjects, and the redressing of Grievances, I have always understood to be a chief Part of the Business of Parliament; and am sorry to hear it said, that any Time is improper for such a Consideration, especially when it is not so much as pretended, that the Complaints are frivolous, or the Petitioners inconsiderable.

The Hon. Gentleman spoke of our being on the Brink of a War, and therefore thought it unwise for us to attempt any Thing at such a Juncture, that might possibly lessen the publick Revenue: I believe there is no Gentleman in this House means to lessen the Revenue; the very End of the Motion is, to endeavour to do something that may encrease it, by preventing those Frauds by which it is greatly diminished. The Gentleman allows that the Laws of Excise, and of the Customs, when joined together, are ineffectual for preventing the running of Tea, but thinks it strange, that the taking off one of those Checks should be proposed as a Method for the preventing of Running for the future; and it would be so, if this were the only Method to be proposed; but there may be some Method proposed, if we go into a Committee, which will render the Laws of the Customs singly more effectual against Smuggling, than both the Laws of Excise and Customs have been found to be; and, in such Case, it will not appear strange, to give a Relief to many of our distressed Countrymen, by freeing them from the oppressive Laws of Excise.

If Gentlemen will but examine this Affair a little, they will find, that by adding the Laws of Excise to the Laws of the Customs, they have neither given a Check to Smuggling, nor have they encreased the Revenue, in the same Proportion as the Consumpt of that Commodity has encreased of late Years. In the Year 1716 the Duty on Coffee and Tea amounted to but sixty odd thousand Pounds; from 1716 to 1724 that Duty continued subject only to the Laws of the Customs, and yet so greatly did our Consumption encrease within that Time, that in 1723 the Duty amounted to 112,000*l.* which is near double the Sum in that 7 Years which preceded the Alteration; which can be attributed only to the Encrease of the Consumption, for it cannot be said, that the Custom-House Officers were more exact and diligent, or the Smugglers less skill'd in the Arts of Deceit in that Year, than they had been in any of the former.

In the Year 1724 the famous Alteration now complained of was made; we cannot suppose that the Consumption has since decreased;

creased; on the contrary, as Tea has been sold cheaper since that Time than ever it was before, we must suppose, that the Consumption has greatly increased; and as by this Alteration the unfair Dealers and Traders were entirely put out of all their old Arts of Smuggling, or at least, of disposing of their run Goods, we must suppose the Duty encreased, and accordingly it did so, always till the Year 1729; when it amounted to about 162,000*l.* But by that Time the Smugglers began to learn new Arts, and to contrive new Ways of defrauding the Publick, so that since 1729, the Duty has been daily decreasing, and is now reduced to less than 120,000*l. per Ann.* From hence it must appear, that the Publick has not gained much by the Alteration of the Method of Collection, which lies so heavy upon all the Dealers in that Commodity.

It is certain, Sir, that this Decrease in the Revenue, which has happen'd since 1729, cannot be owing to any Decrease in the Consumption of that Commodity; for it is of late Years sold so cheap, that the very meanest of the People make Use of it, which I know by my own Experience to be true; because but lately a poor Woman of that Part of the City where I live, for whom I had, some Time before, procured Twelve-Pence *per Week* Charity, acknowledged to me, that she had Tea every Morning for her Breakfast, and said, that except Water, it was the cheapest Drink she could get; and therefore as the Consumption must be much larger, and the Produce of the Duty very little superior now to what it was in 1723, we must conclude, that the Alteration now complained of, has rather increased than diminished Smuggling.

The Hon. Gentleman should not have said, Sir, that it was proposed to lessen the publick Revenue, or to take off any of those Checks which have been laid upon Smuggling; there has not been any Thing proposed, nor is it proper there should, until we go into the Committee moved for, which I have Reason to believe the House will agree to, because I have not yet heard any one Argument offered against it, but only that of its not being now a proper Time, which indeed has been always the only Argument made use of against most Things that have been proposed this Session, and I really believe we are to hear no other from that Quarter; but I must think that it is a very unfair Way of treating any Proposition or Motion made by any Gentleman of this House, and however far such Arguments may prevail in this House, I am sure they will give but very little Satisfaction to those without Doors.

Sir *W—m Y—ge.* Sir, notwithstanding what the Hon. Gentleman who made the Motion, and the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, have urged, in Support of it. I must agree with my Hon. Friend on the Floor, that

the present is not at all a proper Time, nor, indeed, are we any Way prepared for going into a Committee upon the Petition now before us. I am surprized, Sir, to hear it pretended, that no Argument has been offered against the Motion, but that of its not being a proper Time: Have they not been told, is it not well known, that this is the last Session of a Parliament, which must always be pretty much hurried, and therefore it is not proper to bring before us an Affair of such a complicated Nature, and which will require so much Time to search thoroughly to the Bottom of the Wound, before we can so much as pretend to apply, or even to find out a proper Remedy?

B Besides, Sir, have they not been told, and does not every Man know, that the present Posture of Affairs in *Europe* may probably bring Matters of much greater Importance before us, Matters of the highest Consequence to the whole Nation, and which will require the immediate Consideration of Parliament? Shall we then take up the short Time we have to sit, in the Examination of Affairs relating to one small Branch of the Revenue, the delaying of which until another Session, can be of no signal Disadvantage to the Nation, or even to any private Man? And I shall add, that we ought to be the more cautious of entering into the Examination of this Petition, because it may bring before us a great many such; several other Commodities are subject to the Laws of Excise, and if we once enter upon giving Relief to the Petitioners, we may expect Petitions from the Dealers in all those other Commodities.

C The Gentleman who spoke last has, I find, been at the Pains to consider the Amount of the Duty upon Tea for 7 Years before, and 7 Years after the Alteration; and I will agree with him, that in this last Year the Produce of that Duty amounted to no more than 120,000*l.* But his Method of comparing the one with the other is neither fair nor just: He has, out of the Time before that Alteration, picked out the Year when the Produce of that Duty amounted to the highest Sum that it ever did before the Alteration was made; and out of the Time, since the Alteration was made, he has picked out that Year when the Produce of that Duty was the lowest it has been in any Year since, in order to make a Comparison, and from thence to draw his Conclusion, that the Revenue has not been much increased by the Alteration made in the Year 1724, as to the Method of collecting that Duty.

F Now, Sir, I appeal to every Gentleman that hears me, if the fair Way of stating this Matter is not, to compute the Amount of the Duty for 7 Years before, in order to fix a Medium for that 7 Years; and next to compute the Amount for 7 Years after, in order to fix a Medium for that Time, and then

to compare the two Mediums together. According to this Method it will be found, that the Revenue has been increased above 34,000*l.* *per Ann.* Besides this, the Gentleman forgot to mention Seizures, by which there is an Addition of 20,000*l.* a Year more to the Revenue; which in the whole amounts to 54,000*l.* a Year / an Increase which I believe no Gentleman in this House will think inconsiderable, nor ought they, I think, to go rashly into the changing of that Method of Collection by which this Increase has been made, especially when we are at least in Danger of being upon the Brink of a War.

I will allow, Sir, that the Practice of running of Tea is a very great Fraud upon the Publick, and an Injury to the fair Trader; and that it has come to a very great Height of late; but the Manner of carrying it on now is very different from what it was formerly. The Smugglers now travel in Bodies of 30 or 40 Men together, all well armed and provided for a desperate Defence; they carry their Goods from House to House, and actually murder and destroy the King's Officers, wherever they can meet with them unsupported by regular Troops: This must be much more dangerous and expensive to them, than the clandestine Way they were in formerly; this Method they have been reduced to by the Laws of Excise, and yet Gentlemen desire to have that Check removed, which has laid them under so great Difficulties.

Gentlemen complain, that Arguments are not offered against what they propose, or at least none but such as are general; but, I think, it has always been the Custom, when any Thing new is offered, for those who are for it, to give their Reasons, and if those Reasons cannot be sufficiently answered, or stronger ones brought against it, the House then agrees with the Motion. Now I wish those Gentlemen would give us some particular Argument in Support of what they propose, I wish they would agree upon some particular Facts, and argue from them; and then the Gentlemen who seem to be of a contrary Opinion would be able to debate the Question fairly with them; but since they have not been able to agree upon any Facts, or to give us any particular Reasons for referring this Petition to a Committee, I must conclude, that even they themselves are not prepared for taking it into Consideration, and therefore I hope it will be ordered to lie upon the Table.

S—/ S—ys, Esq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last desired we might agree on particular Facts, and argue from those Facts. This, Sir, would be a proper and reasonable Demand, if we were now in a Committee upon the Petition; but as the only Question now before us is, whether or no we shall go into a Committee, I cannot think, that it is either proper or reasonable: It is, I

think, acknowledged, that the Practice of Smuggling is come to a very great Height; and I believe it will not be denied, but that all those who are subject to the Laws of Excise are under a great many Inconveniences which their Fellow-Subjects are free from: This alone, in my Opinion, ought to be a sufficient Inducement for us to go on into a Committee; for, in most Cases, Petitioners, who complain of Grievances, are to prove the Facts they alledge, before the Committee, and Petitions are generally referred to Committees upon Suggestions only of Grievances, which ought to be redressed; but the Case now before us is much stronger, the Facts alledged by the Petitioners are allowed to be true, and the Grievances complained of to be such as ought to be redressed; and yet some Gentlemen are, I find, against so much as taking their Petition into Consideration: If this be treating our Fellow-Subjects as they ought to be, as I hope they always will be treated by this House, I leave to the whole World to judge.

But, Sir, upon the presenting of a Petition and upon the Debate, whether that Petition ought to be referred to a Committee, to desire Gentlemen to agree upon particular Facts, especially when the Facts must all be such as cannot be known to any but those in the Administration, or those who are immediately concerned in the Management of the publick Revenue, is really most unreasonable: It is desiring Gentlemen to agree upon Facts which it is impossible for them to know, till they can, in a proper Way, have an Opportunity to enquire into them. If the House shall agree, which I hope it will, to go into a Committee upon this Petition, I do not doubt but such Papers will be called for as will put us upon an equal Footing with those Gentlemen who have the Advantage of being concerned in the Administration, and in the Management of the Revenue; and then I make no Doubt of being able to comply with the Gentleman's Desire; I am persuaded, we shall then be able to fix upon such Facts as will make it appear, that not only the Petitioners ought to be relieved, but that some new Method must be contrived, for putting an End to the infamous Practice of Smuggling; so that our not being able at present to fix upon any particular Facts, is so far from being a Reason against, that it is a strong Reason for our referring this Petition to a Committee.

The Petitioners, Sir, have very just Grounds to hope, that this House will take off of them those Shackles which we most justly refused to put upon the Dealers in Wine and Tobacco: They have as good a Title to all the Liberties and Privileges of *Englishmen* as any other Subjects, and I can see no Reason for distinguishing them from the rest of their Countrymen. In the present Case Gentlemen need not be afraid of making a Precedent, and

laying

laying a Foundation for a great many Petitions; there are no Dealers in *England* followed by the Laws of Excise as the Dealers in Tea are, except only the Dealers in Brandy; and therefore, the giving Ear to the heavy and just Complaints of the Petitioners, can lay no Foundation for a Multitude of Petitions being brought in upon us from the Dealers in other Commodities subjected to the Laws of Excise; for tho' there are other Commodities subject to the Laws of Excise, yet those Laws go no further than the first Manufacturer, they do not follow the Commodity thro' all the Corners of the Kingdom, and into the little Shops and Cellars of every petty Retailer.

Gentlemen tell us, we are to have Matters of much greater Weight before us, which require a more immediate Consideration, and will take up the Whole of that short Time we have to be together. Sir, I know nothing of greater Weight than that of effectually securing the publick Revenue, encouraging the fair Trader, and relieving our Fellow-Subjects from the Grievances they labour under; and I with the Gentlemen would rise up and inform the House what it is, that they think a Matter of much greater Weight. I am sure, if we are upon the Brink of a War, or in any Danger of it, it renders it much the more necessary for us to take the Petition into our Consideration: As the War can be supported only by the publick Revenue, if we are in any such Danger, it is the more incumbent on us, to take all possible Methods to secure and increase that Revenue; and as in Time of War the fair Trader labours under many Discouragements abroad, it will become the more necessary to take Care that he shall labour under as few as possible at home; and I am sure, if we are threatened with a War, it is the Business of this House, and of every Man who wishes well to the present Establishment, to be more diligent than usual in conciliating the Minds of the People to his Majesty's Government, which can only be done by removing their Grievances as soon as we hear them: Thus, Sir, every Argument that has been offered against going into a Committee, appears to be a strong Argument in Favour of the Motion; and therefore, unless some more weighty Arguments be offered, I am persuaded the House will not reject it.

P—p G—n, Esq; I stand up, Sir, to agree with my worthy Friend in the Motion he has made, and as I have not yet heard any one Argument against it, I shall not take up much of your Time. I have indeed heard Gentlemen argue against what they imagine may be proposed when we go into a Committee, which to me seems to be a very preposterous Way of arguing; they first form to themselves hideous Notions of what is to be proposed in that Committee, and from thence they resolve to

be against going into any such Committee. I would be as unwilling, Sir, as any Gentleman in this House to do any thing at the present Juncture for lessening the publick Revenue, and I am far from believing, that any such Thing is intended to be proposed; but if I really thought, that some such Thing was to be proposed, tho', according to my present Sentiments, I should be very much against any such Proposition, yet I should be willing to hear what Gentlemen had to say on that Head, and therefore would not be against giving them an Opportunity, especially in a Case which every Man allowed to be such as stood very much in need of Redress.

I am of Opinion, Sir, that those Gentlemen who seem to shew so great a Concern for the Revenue, need not be so much afraid that the giving a proper Relief to the Petitioners would diminish it; for I believe when proper Papers and Accounts are called for, and the Matter fully examined, it will appear, that the Revenue has been no great Gainer by the Alteration in the Method of collecting the Duty upon Tea; I believe it will then appear, that the Increase of the Revenue has not near kept Pace with the Increase of the Consumption; so that if those Gentlemen have really nothing else to fear, but a Decrease of the Revenue, they need make no Difficulty in restoring the Petitioners to those Privileges which no *Englishman* ought to be divested of, without some very absolute and apparent Necessity for so doing.

Gentlemen say, the Session is to be but short, and therefore we have not Time to enter into this Affair; those who talk so seem to have forgot one of the chief Ends of our meeting in this Place: It is, or it ought to be known to every one in this House, that two of the chief Ends of our meeting here are, to redress Grievances, and to grant such Supplies to his Majesty as appear to us to be necessary for the Support of his Government; and the Usage of Parliament anciently was, to grant no Supplies, till all Grievances were first redressed; but the Method seems now to be entirely altered; Gentlemen find Time enough to load the Nation with many and heavy Taxes, but can spare no Time, it seems, to relieve the People from any Grievance they justly complain of. They who talk so must have much more Assurance than I am Master of: I wonder how, after such a Declaration, they can, with Confidence, look their Constituents in the Face, far less expect, that they should again do them the Honour to send them hither. Those Gentlemen really talk of this House, as if they looked on it only as a Register for Taxes, and as if we had nothing to do here but to grant to the Crown what Sums the Ministers shall please to call for; I hope, Sir, we are not yet come to so low a Pass; I have still a better Opinion of this House.

House than to believe, that you will reject a Motion so reasonable and so necessary.

W—r P—m—r, Esq; Sir, I am so sensible of the Grievances the Petitioners labour under, and of the Necessity of doing something to put a Stop to that growing Evil of Smuggling, that I have been in Expectation of this Petition ever since the Session began. The Time I spent in the Country, during the last Recess of Parliament, happened to be in a County where I had Occasion to see a great deal of that infamous Practice; so that if there were no other Motive for going into the Committee proposed, than that of endeavouring to do something to prevent Smuggling, that alone with me would be a prevailing Motive; and for that Reason I am surprized to see the Motion opposed by any Gentleman, but much more to see it opposed by those who must know much more than I do of the great Increase and the fatal Effects of this infamous Practice.

Sir, in that County where I was, the Smugglers went about in such formidable Bodies, that if something is not done to put a Stop to it, they may soon threaten Danger even to our civil Government: I have often met them in Gangs of 40 or 50 together, and all so well mounted, that even the Dragoons could not come up with them; and they give such excessive Wages to the Men that will engage with them, that the landed Interest in that Part of the Country suffers considerably by it: The common Price of a Day's Labour, in that County where I was, is already got up to 18*s.* and, even at that Price, it is with great Difficulty that the Farmers can find Labourers; and how can it be otherwise? For all the young, clever Fellows of the County are engaged and employed by the Smugglers; from them they have half a Crown a Day, while they wait upon the Sea-Coast, for the Landing of the Goods; and as soon as the Goods are landed, and they mount on Horse-back, to go about the Country to dispose of them, they have a Guinea a Day, and are well entertained during the whole Time of their Attendance: Thus they find a much easier, and more profitable Employment than any they can have from the Farmer, and while they are thus employed all Improvements of Land must remain in Suspence.

Gentlemen may talk of the great Check

that has been put upon Smuggling, by the joining of the Laws of Excise to the Laws of the Customs, but they must allow, that Project from which so much Benefit was expected, has proved altogether ineffectual, and I am afraid, all other Methods will prove so, as long as the Duty is so high, and so much Advantage to be got by Running. In that Part of the Country where I was, Tea is generally sold by Retailers, in their Shops, at 5*s.* a Pound, and as we must suppose the Importer to have a Profit upon Importation, and as the Duty amounts to about 4*s.* and 9*d.* a Pound, I leave to Gentlemen to judge, whether it is possible to sell by Retail at 5*s.* a Pound any Tea upon which the Duty has been honestly paid: It is easy to guess from whence all this Tea comes; the Smugglers buy it in *Holland*, at 2*s.* a Pound, and from thence run it into this Country; the *Dutch* buy it in the *East Indies*, at 6*d.* a Pound; so that this Nation pays the *Dutch* 18*d.* a Pound for the Carriage: This must be a vast Loss to this Nation, and so great an Advantage to *Holland*, that, I am sure, if there were now a *Dutch* Minister in our Gallery, he would be extremely pleased to see this Motion rejected, and would not fail to acquaint the States General by the very first Post, how much the Interest of *Holland* had, by some Gentlemen in a *British* House of Commons, been preferred to that of *Great Britain*.

I am amaz'd, Sir, to find that some Gentlemen do not see how much the Revenue suffers by Smuggling, and tho' I do not expect that they should take any great Care of the Subject, yet I hope they will take some Care of the publick Revenue, since they have the Fingering and the Managing of it. Upon the Whole, I must say, that if we have any Regard for the Subjects in general, any Regard for the Trade of this Nation, any Regard for the publick Revenue, any Regard for the landed Interest, particularly the Tillage, we must certainly agree to go into this Committee; I am sure nothing more worthy of our Consideration can possibly come before us, and therefore I shall be most heartily for the Question.

[The rest of this Debate, and the other Proceedings in Parliament to be continued, in our next.]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month:

Universal Spectator, June 1. N^o 295.

Of Conversation.

CONVERSATION is either the most pleasing or most displeasing Thing in the

World: It gives us Opportunities to be improved by Men of Sense, and lays us open to the Impertinence of Fools.

To converse with our Inferiors, tho' it is not always the most eligible, yet it is the most easy; because then by the Deference that

that is paid us, we command the Subject, and change it whenever we please; so that we lead the Company from one Topic to another, till we arrive at one we are the best vers'd in.

The Conversation with our Equals is not so easy; they will claim an equal Liberty, and there must be a proper *Respect* shewn them; for it would be downright ill Manners to continually engage them in those Subjects only which we relish best; we must in their Turns give them their Choice, and follow them in a Discourse which may neither be so agreeable, nor so well understood by us. But to maintain a Conversation with our *Superiors*, is still more difficult; for we must hold our Peace, or understand well what it is we are to speak of: We cannot change the Subject; and whenever they change it, we must follow them, and have a good Stock of Knowledge upon all the Subjects they offer, which is seldom to be met with. To come off with Credit in the Conversation of *People of Quality*, there requires a great Deal of *Caution* to speak to the *Purpose*, and not with too much *Learning*, lest we make our Parts appear to be greater than the rest of the Company have. This offends their *Self-Love*, and soon grows troublesome; and our too great Knowledge may be hurtful to us, as our too little would be a Reproach. A young Nobleman of *Italy* lost himself by speaking too well before an old Cardinal, concerning the Government of the Church: For this Cardinal being made Pope, wou'd never give him the Hat, *Because*, (said he) *I am resolved never to admit into the sacred College a Man who is more able, and knows more than myself.*

As for our common Conversation with our *Equals* or *Inferiors*, it requires a great *Mildness*, *Decency*, and *obliging Behaviour*; for to please our Company, we must make them believe that we ourselves are pleased at what we hear, and that we value what they say: Our Discourse must not be too *positive*, or with too much *Passion*; it may be set off with genteel *Raillery*; but *Scurrility* and *Buffoonry* will gain us more *Enemies* than *Admirers*.

There is nothing more troublesome in Conversation than to meet with those who are continually offending others with a ridiculous *Jargon*, with *Novelty* of *Expressions* and *Cant Phrases*, which comes from no one's Mouth but their own, and which by a continual Use is become their natural Dialect. *Belinda* in all Companies speaks much, but her Meaning can only be guess'd at; the most common Incidents she dresses up in the most pompous Phrases;

*To glaze the lakes and crystallize the floods,
And perewig with snow the bald-pate woods,*
would be a proper Phrase with her for *Winter*.

It is equally ridiculous in Discourse for People to speak without Thinking, and to think for every Word they say: We are troubled with the incoherent Follies of the first, and must wait till the latter have determined on the Propriety of a Monosyllable. Their Formality is impertinent, nothing comes from them easy, all is *Affectation*, they may perhaps talk properly, but are very heavy and tiresome.

A Mildness and Decency in arguing among Company, is the Characteristick of a Man of *Sense* and *Good Manners*; and it is a surer Mark of *Wisdom*, to speak modestly, with Reason to prove a Thing is bad, than with a positive Tone say, this is dull, execrable Nonsense: Nothing can offend more in Conversation than such dogmatick Arguing, except confirming the Force of the Argument with horrid Oaths and Imprecations.

In fine, to be agreeable in Conversation a Man must have *Vivacity*, *Wit*, and above all, *Discretion*; must observe the Propriety of *Time*, *Place*, and the *Quality* of the Persons to whom he speaks, without which he will be either censur'd for his *Formality* or his *Impertinence*.

Fog's Journal, June 1. N^o 291.

The Norfolk Congress.

OUR Advices from some Parts of the Kingdom take Notice of the Grandeur and magnificent Living of some particular Persons; but in *Norfolk*, particularly, they tell us, there has of late an Expence been made, as if a certain Gentleman had found out a Mine of Gold; this (says *Fog*) puts me in Mind of a merry Paper published some Years since, called the *Norfolk Congress*; which is as follows.

HUNTING and Feasting are both celebrated in Holy Writ. *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter before the Lord; and the hairy *Esau* is said to be a cunning Hunter. Kings and Princes have delighted in this Sport in all Ages; and the two eminentest Persons of this our Day are now Hunting, one of them at *Fontainebleau* and the other in *Norfolk*. Feasting is likewise so far from being contrary to our Religion, that we find the *Israelites* often commanded to make solemn Feasts or Festivals.

Forasmuch, therefore, as it hath been always customary in this Kingdom, for Great Men in Time of publick Prosperity to give Feasts unto the People, and make publick Rejoicings, so doth it behove also such as are sufficient for the Purpose aptly to describe, and with proper Phrase and gorgeous Shew of Words to set forth such Magnificence, that the Memory thereof may not be lost to After-ages.

Many plentiful Entertainments hath our Friend *Hollingshead* served up in his delightful History, particularly one of the Archbishop of *York*, and also many of the famous Cardinal *Woolsey*, who when he went to his Country Seat, took so many of the Nobility and Gentry with him (who were indeed a Kind of menial Attendants) that he left the Court almost like a *Desart*, and the King his Master seemed quite neglected.

But how sumptuous soever the Entertainments were of this proud and baughty Cardinal, we shall not find them in any Degree of Comparison with that, which we are now attempting (tho' I fear with barren and sapless Stile) to describe.

Reasonable indeed is it that great and able Men, who by their Industry and Application have procured many Blessings to their Country, should sometimes relax their Minds, and share those Blessings which they have been the Means of procuring.

Who therefore, if his Heart doth not burn with *Envy* and *Malice*, can enter the House of this great and good Man, now sojourning and merry-making in *Norfolk*, without saying, *Peace be within these Walls!* for he hath procured *Peace* unto the Kingdom. Who is there that doth not rejoice at the *Plenty* that is within his Palace? for he hath strewed *Plenty* over the Face of the Land. To him our present *Tranquillity* is owing, and the steady Happiness of our present Circumstances. Thro' his Care the Husbandman soweth with Profit, and the Merchant saileth with Safety. How comfortable likewise is it unto the People to see their *Governors* indulge themselves in *Ease*, *Diversions* and *Pleasures*, which, like the playing and singing of Mariners, is a sure Sign that the Ship is safe, and in a *Calm*!

This great Feast or Festival certainly exceedeth all that ever went before it, both in Respect to its *Plenty* and *Politeness*; for if we regard the Number and Value of the Horses, the Staunchness and Goodness of the Hounds, or the Wit and Humour of the Company, we shall be at a Loss to know which merits most our Commendation; for from this Society might be culled Persons, for their Wisdom and Valour, fit either to compose a Cabinet Council, command Fleets and Armies, or be Plenipotentiaries at any Congress in *Christendom*. But, above all, let us commend the Cooks; for the Cooks of *Norfolk* have been eminent for many Ages.

Proceed we now to give some Particulars of this noble Entertainment.

The Breakfast or Preliminary Course is made up of cold Venison Pasties, Hams, Tongues, Tea, Chocolate, with a Mixture of many other Delicacies, insomuch that it hath been generally called an *Ambigu*, which being interpreted in our Language signifies something doubtful in its Nature, or which no body knows what to make of. At this Course

the Conversation run chiefly upon Hunting a Vixen or She Fox, which they were determined to pursue thro' all the Brakes, thick Woods and Covers she should lead them. They got on Horseback and resolved to ride over Hedge and Ditch after her, not regarding the He-Fox that belong'd to her, who kept always burrow'd in his Earth, and never stir'd abroad.

After a very long and wearisome Chase, they found that they could make nothing of this same Vixen; for she baffled all their Hounds, and tired them and all their Horses. By Way of Excuse they pretended that during the whole Chase a large Eagle flew over her Head and protected her from the Dogs.

The chief Huntsman tells an incredible Story. He says that he saw this Eagle once make a Stoop to a foundling Child, that lay in the Way, and that he saw the Child with *Bologna Sausages*, in the Manner that we often see it represented in our Signs. But the Huntsman being known to be a great Gamester, the Company did not seem inclined to believe him.

The Dinner consisted of many hundred Dishes, all replete with the most excellent Viands, of great Prodigality and delicious Flavour; to express the Sumptuousness or Variety of it is impossible. But some of the most remarkable Dishes will I adventure to relate.

In the first Place, there was an *Hotch-Potch*, which consisted of *Westphalia Bacon*, *English Beef*, *Dutch Pickle-Herrings*, and *French Truffles*. It seemed very strong, but few People relished it; for it could not sit well on their Stomachs.

Over against this was placed a *Spanish Ollio*, with an huge Ostrich in the Middle of it. It was made chiefly with Garlick, Giblet-hare, and many other Ingredients, all seasoned with certain Spices brought from the *East Indies*.

There was also a *Peace-soup*, filled with Balls of Forced-meat.

A *Cardinal* (which is a most rare Fish, often mentioned by *Horace*, tho' scarcely known in *England*) was placed super-eminently on a Ring of Gold in the Midst of the Table, and round it were seen many Gudgeons.

Next came a pompous Pye, with a young Cockeril upon it, curiously formed in Paste, with an Olive Branch in his Mouth, signifying, as the Neighbours would have it, the *Peace*, which the young King of *France* was to give to *England*; for *Gallus*, as we have been informed, in the antient Language of the renowned *Romans*, signifieth both a Cock and a Frenchman.

There was also a *Prussian* wild Boar's Head, with an Orange in his Mouth.

The Master of the House himself fed chiefly on Stock-Fish and Plumb-Dumpling. On one Side of him stood a Porringer of Viper-Broth, and on the other a Bisk of Pid-

Pidgeons, denoting the Wisdom of the Serpent and the Innocency of the Dove.

The Sallad consisted entirely of Sallary and Penny Royal, which all the Guests devoured very greedily.

There was one Dish that shock'd many of the Spectators, which was an *English* Collar of Brawn, stuck with *French* Lillies, instead of Rosemary. At this many were offended, and said, the Times were hugely changed with our Landlord, and his Taste and Way of Living strangely altered: For they remembered when he had like to have overturned the whole Table, upon seeing some *French* Kick-shaws upon it, which he said was Poison to an *English* Constitution; but now forsooth, nothing but *French* Sauces will go down, and he loves every Thing green'd, but particularly Tongues, when they are so, which we should call corrupted.

But how vain would be an Attempt to describe the whole of this Entertainment! All was elegant, sumptuous and polite, tho' no Desert ever appear'd at it. The Wines, which came from all Parts of the World, were like the Master, rich and generous. *Burgundy* and *Norfolk* Nog were equally plenty; and all the Neighbourhood were invited to partake of it, except the poor handy *Craftsmen*.

Craftsman, June 1. N^o 413.

The dreadful Consequences of a general Corruption.

THERE cannot (says *D'Amers*) be a more certain Symptom of approaching Ruin to any Country, than the Manifestation of a general Disregard to publick Virtue. When once the Bulk of the People are thus vitiated, there is no Mischief, however remote it may seem, that is not actually at the Door; and the Change from Liberty to Slavery, from Plenty to general Distress, is often so precipitate in Countries thus corrupted, that the same Men, who have enjoyed the Benefits of the purest Constitution at the Beginning of their Lives, have lived not only to see the Introduction, but to groan under the Burthen of the most severe Tyranny.

The Limitations of a Monarchy, the Regulations of a State, or what we call a valuable Constitution, are justly to be regarded and esteemed; but no otherwise than as they naturally produce a good Effect upon the Minds of the People, which are always influenced by the Government, under which they live. A good Constitution is a downright Farce with a corrupted People. Every good Law made in it is perverted, or at least is never to be put in Execution; and, in short, a *Solon*, a *Lycurgus*, or a *Moses*, would never be able to form a Government, so as to render a People happy,

unless their Minds were generally prepared to assist in the Administration of it.

The Forms of Liberty were long preserved in the *Roman* Government, after the most intolerable Tyranny had usurped its Seat; and we are told that under *Tiberius*, one of their most execrable Emperors, the Freedom of the People was still in outward Shew preserved. The *Senate* was still employed in managing the Business of the Publick. Their Money was for many Ages after coin'd by their Authority, as the Marks upon it testify to this Hour; and every other publick Affair received their Sanction; yet, at the same Time, we know the most shocking Barbarities were exercised by the Emperors; who, while their Actions met with no significant Opposition, were well satisfied that the People would still flatter themselves with the empty Shew of Power.

If a *Minister* shou'd be exalted here, with a Disposition to mind nothing but the Increase of his private Fortune, and consequently aim at nothing so much as to continue himself in his Employment, tho' the Means were ever so flagitious; our Ruin would follow as certainly from him, as it could from any other. If he singly set about this Work, by playing our own Corruption upon us, by reducing all the Corporations into a venal Habit, by bestowing only upon such as were qualified to elect Members of Parliament the inferior Employments, and afterwards by confining the larger and more lucrative to the Parliament, thus chosen, and to such of its Members, as would accept them upon the base Tenure of doing all his Drudgery; if this should ever happen, the Increase of our Corruption must easily be foreseen, and we may readily determine that nothing could follow from it, but a total and voluntary Concession of the publick Liberty to the very first Prince, who should shew a Desire for it.

I shall not insinuate that any *Minister*, now in Power among us, hath betrayed a Disposition of this Kind, or endeavoured to support his Administration by these destructive Measures. I mean only to shew how dangerous and desperate our Condition must be, if such a *Genius* should ever arise in this Kingdom.

We are daily treated as *Promoters of Sedition*, and *publick Incendiaries*, for endeavouring to stem the Torrent of that general Corruption, which every Man of all Parties acknowledges in private Conversation. Surely, we may venture to give our Sense of the dangerous Consequences of an Evil, which has proved fatal to every Country, that has been yet invaded by it; and, in this, we act with the same Zeal to the *Prince* and to the *People*; for however weak Men have been flattered with the Temptations of absolute Authority, it is equally dangerous to the Persons, who possess it, as to those, who feel its Burthen.

To

To persuade the People that we would endeavour to destroy their Veneration for *Parliaments*, is an Insinuation as weak as the Attempt would be vain. They are universally sensible that *Liberty* can never be preserved but by a *Representative from among themselves*; tho' their Indignation and Apprehensions might naturally lead them to spurn at such a one as may be hereafter made, by *Treasury Mandates*, and a *Conge d' Elire from a corrupt Minister*; if any Thing could destroy the Reverence due to parliamentary Jurisdiction, the *corrupt Influence* contended for by some would effect it.

We shall consume no more of our Time in Animadversions upon the Infamy of *these Men*. They are no farther worth our Notice, than as their Numbers testify the Depravity of the Times. We ought therefore every one of us, who have not bow'd our Knees to *Baal*, who have not yet been infected, to endeavour in our different Capacities to stem the Torrent. Some may, by the Stations they are placed in, be able to be more eminently serviceable by a virtuous Example. Others may have Opportunities and Talents to persuade, or confirm their Fellow-Subjects in the noble Principles of *publick Virtue*. But the meanest of us all hath it in his Power to preserve one Man; nor can any private Necessity justify a Crime against the Publick; for the most important Duty and Business of our Lives is to promote the general Welfare of Mankind.

London Journal, June 1. N^o 779.

A View of the Reign of Queen Anne.

THE Gentleman (says one who signs himself *T. Wharton*) who hath entertained the Publick with the *Dissertation on Parties*, (see p. 32.) seems, at length, to have declined the further Prosecution of it. This appears very surprizing, and indeed a little unkind in him; both as the Reign of *Queen Anne*, which he hath hitherto left untouched, affords Plenty of excellent Materials for so fine a Genius to work upon, and as the Gentleman himself seems exceedingly well prepared and instructed for letting his Readers into the *Secrets* of that busy and remarkable Period. I am of Opinion, that the Transactions of that Reign are of the utmost Importance to be considered by every sincere Lover of his Country; for which Reason, I shall venture to give my Sentiments on that Subject.

When *Q. Anne* ascended the Throne, I think it is universally agreed on, that she was under the Influence of the *Tory Party*. The two *Great Men*, who then had the largest Share of her Confidence, found themselves obliged to comply with her Inclinations this

Way, and to join in Counsels with a Set of Men, who discovered a very early Design of overthrowing every Thing that had been done at the late happy *Revolution*. Their Pretence was no longer *Liberty and Property*, which had been their Cry in the late Reign. The *Divine Hereditary Right* of the *Queen*, and the *absolute unconditional Obedience* of the *Subject*, became the Topicks of all Conversation, and were boldly propagated both from the Pulpit and the Press. The *Toleration* was complained of as a Grievance, and several repeated Attempts made to undermine and render it precarious. Their Regard to the *Constitution* and the Liberties of *Englishmen* remarkably appeared in the famous Case of the *Ailesbury Men*. Here not only the Judicature of the House of *Peers*, but the known Laws of the Land, and the *Personal Liberty* of the Subject, were invaded in the most open and violent Manner. A continued Series of such arbitrary and imperious Measures, as it render'd them intolerable to the Bulk of the Nation, so at length it disgusted the *soberer* Part of their own Friends, and obliged the very Men who had brought them in, to throw them out again, not for their own Safety only, but to prevent the Ruin of their Country, and of all *Europe*.

Minds insolent in Power are always *mutinous* out of it. The *Tories* did not fail to verify this Maxim in the following Years of that Reign, while they were kept under by that glorious and successful Administration, who furnished the Materials for the most shining Period of the *British Annals*: Their Tune was now changed; tho' they still kept up their *old Principles* and *Aversions*. The *Ministry* were represented as a Set of dangerous Men, who had enter'd into very close and dark Designs against the *publick Liberty*; and the chimerical Project of setting up an arbitrary *General for Life*, was boldly charged upon Men, who had proved themselves the best and truest Friends to *Liberty* the Kingdom had ever enjoyed. Annual Invectives were made, both in Parliament and out of it, against *Bribery* and *Corruption*, under an Administration, which, every Body is now convinced, was one of the honestest and most upright that had appeared in any Age. *Courtiers* and a *Court Interest* were exclaimed against, at a Time when the *Court* employed none who were not truly in the Interest of their Country, and when the Glory of the Kingdom was carried to a higher Pitch than it had been in any former Reign. Thus did they rave and babble during the Time of their Seclusion from Power, till they had so perverted the Understanding of a great Part of the People, and made such Impressions in a higher Place, that they once more got into the Seat of Government, and had an Opportunity of shewing the World their true and genuine Character.

The Tories, upon this new Revolution, display'd themselves in their ancient Colours. But this was not sufficient, for now they went greater Lengths than ever they had done before. I speak not here of the infamous Treaty of Peace with France, and the barbarous Sacrifices made at Denain and Barcelona. These Transactions, however wicked and impious, yet had not a direct Tendency to hurt the Constitution. But was not the Creation of 12 Peers in one Day, on Purpose to carry a Point in the House of Lords, a plain Attack upon the Constitution, and an open Attempt to destroy the balancing Powers in the Legislature? Were not all the secret Transactions in Favour of the Pretender, calculated for the Destruction of all our Liberties? Was it consistent with Freedom, to put the Queen upon repeated Messages, and Speeches to her Parliament, to induce them to come into Measures for restraining the Liberty of the Press? And, in one Word, did their whole Management, during the Four last Years, wherein Great Britain was under the Influence of this unhappy Constellation of Men, discover any Thing else but one uninterrupted Concatenation of Measures for breaking down all the Barriers of Liberty, and making the bravest and freest People in the Universe a vile and contemptible Herd of Bondmen and Bigots?

Weekly Miscellany, June 1 and 8.

An Apology for Religious Zeal.

EVERY one, I believe, that looks abroad into the fashionable World, and observes the Humours and Modes prevailing in it, must be sensible enough of this melancholy Truth, that we are refin'd at last into the most irrational Coldness and Indifference to Religion, that ever was seen in England, since the Christian Religion was first planted in it. Our Thoughts, our Company, and Conversation are so turn'd upon Matters of a lower Nature, they are so entirely swallowed up in Voluptuousness and Secularity, that a Zeal for Religion looks as odd and singular upon a Man, as an antiquated Dress of our great Grandfathers, and is truly become the Object of Pity and Derision among the Men of Elegance and Taste. What may be the Causes of this Folly, I will not determine; but sure I am, that 'tis contrary to Reason and good Sense, brings Dishonour and Reproach upon our Nation, and serves no other End, but to propagate Licentiousness, and to plunge us at last in a general Ruin.

By Religious Zeal I understand a hearty and an affectionate Concern for the Service and Honour of God, and an earnest Desire and Study to promote it, upon good Grounds, by all lawful and prudent Methods.

One necessary Requisite in Religious Zeal is, that it be always express'd in a decent Manner. And this will require our utmost Vigilance; because in a Complication of so many various Passions, as are naturally concurring to our Zeal, we shall find ourselves in perpetual Danger of transgressing the Rules of Prudence and Decency, nay, and of Justice and Charity too, unless they be constantly kept under good Regulation. The Truth and Excellency of the Gospel of Christ, the Honour of God, and the Salvation of Men, are dear and sacred Pledges, which Zeal is always most affectionately concern'd for, and will always most earnestly contend for. But then 'tis still a compassionate Concern, and a very charitable Contention; not carried on by Virulency of Speech, and railing Accusations; not enlightening Mens Eyes by the dreadful Blaze of Fire and Faggot, nor butchering Mens Bodies in order to save their Souls; that's the Charity and Presumption of the Romish Church. But the Zeal that is truly Christian, tho' it is always an active Instrument in promoting God's Glory, yet it never presumes to be the Executioner of his Vengeance.

From hence we may observe, that Zeal and Moderation are not Opposites and Enemies to one another, but inseparable Friends and Allies; for that Zeal is never commendable, which is not allay'd with something of Moderation, nor is that Moderation of much Value, that is not enliven'd and invigorated with Zeal. Take away your Moderation, and your Zeal is the most irregular, furious, and ungovernable Thing in the whole World; and take away your Zeal, and then Moderation degenerates into Remissness and Supineness, which leaves the Soul quite destitute of Resolution, Constancy and Vigour.

I may deservedly recommend religious Zeal, as one of the justest, the most reasonable, most necessary, most becoming, and most beneficial good Qualities, that can adorn either a Christian, or even a rational Creature. For,

1st, It is most just, whether we consider God's prerogative Right to the best of our Affections and Services; or the equitable Reasons on our Part that bind us to it. God has unquestionably a prerogative Right to the best of our Affections and Services, and that immediately derived from the very Pre-eminence of his Nature; not barely as he is the supreme Being, the Author, Proprietor, and Disposer of all Things; but as he is the supreme Good, and therefore the ultimate End and Scope of all rational Creatures and their Actions; and the absolute Complement of all the Happiness they are capable of.

Again farther. Such a Zeal is as reasonable as it is just. For one principal Use of Reason

Reason is to direct and govern our Passions in such a Manner, as to make them subservient to Virtue. And this Direction and Government of the Passions consists partly in determining them towards their proper Object, and partly in keeping them under due Regulation; that so they may incite us to pursue some rational and worthy End, and not turn us out of the Way to it by any precipitate and disorderly Motion. Now where can our Passions (out of which Zeal is form'd and compounded) be placed, with more Reason and Success, than on him who is himself the supreme Good, and on that Service of him, which alone can lead us to it, and qualify us for it? I desire it may be remember'd, that the Zeal which I contend for, is not a blind, enthusiastick, and furious Zeal, without Knowledge, without Justice and Charity, but one that is regular and well-grounded, under the Guidance of Reason, influenced by religious Principles, and steadily pursuing the Glory of God as its great and ultimate End.

Neither is it only reasonable and just, but also necessary; necessary both to the *Being* and *Well-being* of Religion. For, indeed, the very Essence of Religion, consists in the due Apprehensions of God's Excellencies and Perfections, and in suitable Affections and Demeanour towards him. Lastly, a Religious Zeal is highly beneficial to the Person endu'd with it, and to others about him.

Universal Spectator, June 8. N^o 296.

The Folly and Absurdity of Atheism.

THERE needs no *Miracle* be wrought by God, says Sir Francis Bacon, to convince Men of the Error of *Atheism*, because his ordinary Works convince it. He who contemplates the Works of *Nature* (if so he please to term them) will find such a Chain of Miracles, that he will be oblig'd to fly to the Acknowledgement of a God. If we consider the immense Stock of Beings endow'd with *Life* and *Sense*, in this our little World; that every Plant and Animal breeds numberless other Insects; that every Drop of Water has its Inhabitants; or if we contemplate the bright and spacious Globes of Heaven, we must have Reference to a *supreme Cause*, which *Cause* can be only God.

The *Mite* has its Eyes; it will turn away from such Objects as may be hurtful to it; place but a Straw in its Way you will see it alter its Course immediately. Can you think then that the *CrySTALLINE Humour*, the *Retina*, the *Optick Nerve*, all which are assistant to convey Sight to this little Product of *Nature*, are the Product of *Chance*?

Take your Magnifying Glass and look into a Drop of Water in which a little Pepper has been steep'd; there observe what a Thirst it

has excited in an infinite Number of small Animals, who like so many Monsters in the wide Ocean are moved to and fro with incredible Swiftnefs: Each of these Creatures is a thousand Times less than a *Mite*, and yet is a Body that lives, receives Nourishment, must not only have *Muscles*, but Vessels also equivalent to *Veins*, *Nerves*, *Arteries*, and besides them, a *Brain* to make Distribution of the *Animal Spirits*. To vary your Wonder, look thro' your Glass at the least Bit of any Thing that is mouldy, tho' no bigger than a Grain of Sand, and it will appear like a Heap of many Plants, some of which have *Flowers*, some *Fruits*, others only *Buds*, others quite wither'd; how extremely small must the Fibres be thro' which they receive their Nourishment? But then should you consider that these Plants have their own proper Seed as well as *Oaks* or *Beech*, and that those minute Animals are multiply'd by Generation as well as *Whales* or *Elephants*, whither can such Observations lead the most stubborn Favourer of *Chance*, but to confess these could never be the meer Effects of it? Could a fortuitous Congregation of Atoms produce Creatures so fine, so exceeding small, that no Eye can perceive them; and, that as well as the Heavens, border on Infinity, tho' in the other Extreme? Is it not rather that *Being* which moves the *Heavens* and the *Stars*, those vast Bodies, so wonderful in their *Bigness*, *Motion*, and Extent of their Courses? Behold this our World, which in Regard to the whole System, is but one Atom hanging in the Air; behold the *Moon* in its Full, it seems larger than the *Sun*, and a great deal larger than the other Planets; yet there is nothing in the Heavens so small: Its Motion is not above 1,620,000 Miles a Day, which is not above 1120 Miles in a Minute. But the *Sun* is really larger than a Million of such Globes put together: Consider then the Distance it must be, when its Appearance to us is so small; it is calculated to be ninety Millions of Miles; but the Distance of the Planet of *Saturn* is nine hundred Millions of Miles; yet the Distance of these is so inconsiderable, if oppos'd to that of the other Stars, that no Comparison, no Expression is adequate to the Measure. Do you not wonder? but if you wonder that such immense Globes seem only Sparks, should you not admire that they preserve from so vast a Height any Appearance at all? When you have survey'd these, think of the *Earth* on which you tread; a Globe like a loose Grain of Sand hanging in the Air: Behold then that Multitude of fiery Globes, the Vastness of whose Bulk confounds Imagination, whose Height is beyond the Conception of Man, all in a constant Course perpetually rolling round this little *Ball*, and each within its proper Limits journeying thro' the immense Spaces

Spaces of the Heavens. Are these *Miracles of Chance*, as you call it? Consider if these can be *Chance*; and while you are *amaz'd*, confess the *Power* of your *God*. These Globes are regular in their proper Courses: Should they in the least deviate, should they hit, should the least of them but touch our World, it would reduce it into a *Chaos*: But all these heavenly Bodies are so exact and constant in their Stages, that a little Creature, (confined to this little Globe) call'd *Man*, knows their Revolutions, and can tell in what Degree of their Courses these Stars will be 2000, nay, 10000 Years hence. Now think, thou *Patron* to *Chance*, thou *Denyer* of thy *God*, are these the *blind Effect* of *Chance*? Could *Chance* produce such *Wonders*?

A contemplative *Atheist* is what I think impossible; most who would be thought *Atheists*, are so out of Indolence, because they will not give themselves Time to reason, to find if they are so or not: It is rather from the Wantonness of their Heart than the Result of their Thoughts. But as for those who take the Denial of a *God* to be a Specimen of their *Wit*, they are deceiv'd: Any one might be as *witty* as they, would he be as *wicked*: Like the *Fool* he might say *there is no God*, if like the *Reprobate* he would hazard his *Salvation*.

Fog's Journal, June 8. N^o 292.

Extract from the Examiner of Oct. 5, 1710. concerning the Choice of a new Parliament.

LET us see (says *Fog*) what Sort of Gentlemen the *Examiner* (and consequently the Ministry then just enter'd into Power) recommended to the Freeholders and other Electors of the new Parliament, upon the Dissolution of the old one, in the memorable Year 1710.

"Your first Care (says that Writer) should be to chuse Gentlemen of Estates in your Neighbourhood, whom you know, rather than those, who come from *London* once in 3 Years, and whom you never see but at an Election. The first of these have their Lands at Stake for their Probity and Honour; the latter, as Actions rise or fall, have an Estate or none. Those spend their Fortunes among you; the other are to raise them from you.

Beware of *Member-makers*, and *Undertakers* for Parliament Men: People that have a farther Aim, than bringing in a Friend or Relation into your Borough.—They know very well how to get the Money they bribe you with, repaid; and at what Rate to sell you and your Borough, to their Party; and are sure to make a good Bargain of you,

whenever they can answer *Leviticus* out of *Numbers*, and prove Majority to be Law.

They that are lifted under these Great Men, are not to be reckon'd free Agents; like the Clans in the *High-Lands* before the Union, they may be very stout Men, and wear broad Swords, but they will draw them only for their Masters. And the *Hopes* or *Fears* of these Gentlemen for the common Cause, rise or fall, as his Lordship is in or out.

I would advise you to chuse Gentlemen of Religion and Conscience; of the true old Principles of *England*; entirely in the Interest of her Majesty, and of the most illustrious House of *Hanover*, and utterly averse to that of the *Pretender*. But don't let us have the House fill'd with Men of neither Estates, Honour, Honesty, nor Sense; such as would turn a Senate into a *Bear-Garden*, take Noise for Wit, Ribaldry for Eloquence, and a Jest for an Argument.

With Respect to the Church, I would persuade you to vote for those, who not only conform to it, but are heartily and affectionately concerned for its Establishment and Prosperity.

With Regard to their *Fellow-Subjects*, pray chuse those, who love their Countrymen better than any *Foreigner* whatsoever; and would neither be enslaved by the *French*, nor bubbled by any other Nation:—Who would be exact and industrious in the publick Accounts; be frugal of the Nation's Money; and let those that pay it, know how it is disposed of.—

Who would consider that *Great Britain* is an Island, and therefore be infinitely diligent in strengthening our Naval Force. In a Word, such as would be just to all Men, religiously observe the known Laws of the Land, and be always tender of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of their Fellow-Subjects. But let me entreat you never to elect those, who are profuse of the Nation's Money, because they have none of their own; and are for raising private Estates, by fleecing and pillaging the Publick; whose Business is to quash all Accounts concerning the State of the Nation, the Fleet and the Army; to divert any Enquiry of that Nature, and punish One that does not deserve it, in order to screen Twenty that do.—Nor will you, I hope, ever approve of those, who would be guilty of the most barefaced Injustice to their own Members, turning the most unexceptionable, the most deserving Gentlemen in the World out of the House, tho' they were elected by a most undoubted Majority, even according to the most unreasonable of their own Accounts. In short, never chuse such a Parliament, as will itself chuse a Parliament; never vote for those, who, to gratify their own private Malice, Covetousness or Ambition, or even Caprice and Humour, shall themselves vote, that Black is White; that Five are more than

Seven; that Merit ought to be punish'd, and Treason to be rewarded; shall arbitrarily prosecute those they represent, contrary to all Law, Reason, and Justice, and destroy those Liberties at home, which we are fighting for abroad."

It must be observed (says *Fog*) with great Satisfaction by all true Lovers of their Country, that most of the Counties in *England* have chose for their Representatives in the ensuing Parliament, such Gentlemen as our Author has thought the best qualified for that Trust: Which shows that the Landed Men of this Kingdom are become so sensible of their true Interest, that they are not to be blinded by specious Pretences, nor corrupted by undue Influences.

Craftsman, June 8. N^o 414.

Farther Observations on the Elections.

WHEN I complained (says *D'Anvers*) of a general Corruption, in my last (see p. 305.) the Invektive was plainly levelled against the meanest of the Populace, whose vicious Habits expose them to Corruption, and some others in a much higher Sphere, who have brought themselves under the Necessity of subsisting upon that wretched Expedient; for I had before acknowledged that the middling Sort of People preserved themselves untainted, as appears by the County Elections; and I may add those of the great Cities, and rich trading Corporations.

In a former Paper upon this Subject, I took particular Notice of the *Kentish Election*, (see p. 250.) which was carried by such a Majority as was never known in the Memory of Man, against the Weight of the Docks, Cinque-Ports, and other Influence, ecclesiastical, civil and military, which hath usually turn'd the Balance there, on the Side of the Court.

Nor hath this Spirit discovered itself in the County only, but likewise in two of the richest and freest Corporations, *Canterbury* and *Maidstone*, who have each of them returned two Members in the Country Interest, tho' the Church hath a very great Influence in one of them, and *Chatbam Dock* in the other. The same Disposition manifested itself at *Rockester*, on several Occasions; but their Dependence is so well known, that nobody can wonder to see the other Interest prevail.

I shall say nothing of *New Romney*, which is certainly the most independent of all the Cinque-Ports, till the Dispute about the Election of a Mayor, the Right of several Voters, and consequently the Legality of the Return, is determin'd by the proper Judges.

I cannot quit this County without lamenting the Loss of that noble Patriot, [Lord Vane] who hath been lately snatch'd from us, just after he had received the highest Honour,

which his Country could bestow on him. (See p. 267.) But we hope this great Loss to the Publick will be repaired, as far as possible, by that worthy Gentleman, who hath been lately nominated as a Candidate to succeed him in Parliament.

The Election for the County of *Southampton*, where the same Kind of Influence prevails to a very great Degree, is another Instance of the Sense of the People; for even supposing our Accounts of that Election, in the publick Prints, to be just, one of the Candidates in the Country Interest carry'd it by a great Majority, and the other lost it only by two Votes.

But the good People of *Norfolk* afford us the most remarkable Example of a publick Spirit, and have for ever distinguish'd themselves in our Annals by their glorious Opposition to all the Arts, which could possibly be employed to corrupt, or divert them from the true Interest and Service of their Country. Indeed, when I consider not only the natural and adventitious Influence, which a certain Gentleman must have acquired in that County by a long Monopoly of Power, but even his personal Presence, and that Multitude of Emisaries, whom he dispatched to all Parts of the County, with the most prevailing Arguments; I am at a Loss to think how a Cause so well supported could possibly fail, in this Age. It is certainly a very melancholy Circumstance for the poor Gentleman, and I can scarce help pitying him, in Spight of my Country; for I am somewhat of Mrs. *Peacum's* Opinion, that it is a moving Thing to see a Great Man in Distress. If from the North we travel Westward, his Affairs will appear in a much worse Plight; all the Counties in that Part of the Kingdom having chosen their Representatives on the popular Interest, without any Opposition, or Struggle, on the other Side.

It hath been already observed that most of the rich trading Cities and Corporations, where there is the least Degree of Independency, have discovered the same malignant Disposition, and prefer'd the general Interest of the Nation to that of one private Man. But since I am now got into the West of England, the City of *Bristol* deserves particular Mention; for as it is, without Dispute, the greatest trading City in the whole Kingdom, next to *London*, so it hath followed her Example in the Choice of her Representatives, against all the corrupt Applications of Power and Money.

But the *Cornish Elections* are a demonstrative Proof of what we have advanced, concerning the Sense of the People; for tho' *Cornwall* is in a Manner over-run with Borough Towns, and a great Majority of them are absolutely under Dependence; yet it is plain that they have no Influence on the Body of the People; since the same Persons, who assume a Sort of dictatorial Power

Power over the Corporations, have not so much as attempted, or propos'd, to set up any of their Creatures for Representatives of the County.

Methinks, there is something very ridiculous, as well as unwarrantable, in the Circumstances and Management of these Boroughs. They are generally treated like Ideots, or Lunatics, who are not capable of chusing their own Guardians, and therefore are deliver'd over to the Care of some Relation, or Neighbour, who undertakes their Affairs. From hence it often comes to pass that the Representatives and the Represented are utter Strangers to each other; and I should not be in the least surpriz'd to see a warm Contention in Parliament about the late Elections for some of these Boroughs, which never saw, or were seen by any one of the Petitioners, or the sitting Members. Nay, I have been told that some of the chief Inn-Keepers in these Boroughs have not been able to satisfy the Curiosity of their Guests who their Members were; and that their Members have been equally at a Loss in Town to answer to the Names of their Boroughs, when they have been call'd over in the House.

There must be some extraordinary Magnetick to draw the Affections of People at such a Distance, and make them stick so close to Men, whom they never saw, or heard of before. Some Persons affirm that this Nostrum is compos'd of a yellow Kind of Earth, which is found in great Quantities, at these Seasons, on a certain Hill in Cornwall, called the Mount of Corruption. Others are of Opinion that the Master of the Mount, who is certainly a very great Adept in the occult Sciences, hath discovered the Philosopher's Stone, and can turn every Thing he touches into Gold.

There is a remarkable Case in Coke's Institutes, which deserves the Observation of the Publick, at this Time.

Thomas Long gave the Mayor of Westbury 4*l*. to be elected Burgeſſes, who thereupon was elected. This Matter was examined and adjudg'd in the House of Commons, *secundum Legem & Consuetudinem Parliamenti*, and the Mayor fined and imprison'd, and Long removed; for this corrupt Dealing, says Sir Edward Coke, was to poison the Fountain itself.—Chap. 1. Inst. 4.

From this Case it appears that the Practice of corrupting Boroughs is not entirely modern; and we read of a Set of Projectors, in the Reign of King James the First, who undertook to model the House of Commons to the King's Purposes; from whence they gain'd the Name of Undertakers. But as the former Attempt was punished in an exemplary Manner, so the latter was defeated; and tho' such Practices of poisoning the Fountain have been wonderfully improved since that Time, they were never insisted on till very lately as any Proof of the Sense of the People.

Nothing is more common at present than to hear one Corporation call'd a Court-Borough, another a Treasury-Borough, a third an Admiralty-Borough, a fourth a Post-Office-Borough, and so of many more; because they depend on these Offices.

I shall conclude (says D'Anvers) with a very extraordinary Letter, which I am inform'd hath been sent to all the Postmasters in the Kingdom, during the late Elections.

S I R,

I desire you'll send me a particular Account of your Election, when it comes on, and if there be any Opposition and a Poll, pray advise by every Post how it goes; and when the Return is made, inform me how the Parties stand affected, where their Places of Residence are, if they are new Members; your punctual Compliance with this will greatly oblige
General Post-Office, Your Humble Servant,
April 18, 1734.

P. S. If there be any Boroughs in your Knowledge, or Delivery, pray procure me Accounts thereof, as above.

I shall make no Comments on this Letter, which sufficiently explains itself, and shews the unwearied Endeavours of some Gentlemen to preserve the Freedom of Parliament.

Universal Spectator, June 15. N^o 297.

D The Maiden's Scheme for governing a Husband: By Martha Single, Spinster.

AS the whole Happiness of the Marriage State depends on our first Choice, the utmost Caution should be taken by the Fair, to know well the Persons to whom they give themselves away; nor would it be improper to deviate from the common Maxim of the Sex, and rather take the Man who loves them, than him whom they love: They may retain their Power over the first, the latter will keep up their Power over them.

As one Woman governs a great many Men before Marriage, she might easily govern one after it: The Authority of the Mistress should not be sunk in the Fondness of a Wife; She should have Pride and Good Nature by Turns, as she found it would be most convenient; for by indulging a Man in a few Humours, it is ten to one but he'll indulge her in all.

When after Marriage any particular Foible in a Man is discover'd, it should as much as is possible be construed to your Advantage. Is he covetous, he'll make you rich; is he precise, he'll not be passionate; is he passionate, he will make you patient; is he peevish, he'll be always neat; if a Rake, he'll love his Wife in her Turn: Think him at least still agreeable, as the only Way he should still think you so.

S s 2

To

To preserve Dominion, there must be preserv'd good Humour, and to please a Husband, you must continue that which pleas'd a Lover: To expose the ill Qualities of Mind, or neglect the Care of their Appearance to their Husband, is a great Oversight in the Ladies: When instead of the agreeable, they become sullen; instead of appearing always to the best Advantage, they ever appear to the worst, I cannot wonder if they lose the Power over their Husbands Hearts, against so many Women, who always appear to them complaisant and well-dress'd, to engage them.

There are some Women who might govern their Husbands, where they not always telling them that they are capable of governing them; and hinting they are Fools, by crying up their own Prudence and Conduct; they would have more Power did they not shew they were aiming at it: Others, to enjoy a Power they think they deserve, boast of their Excellencies, till they cease to be so. What greater Plague could a Man have than to be stunn'd with the Repetition of—What? Use a Woman so of my Merit? A Woman of my Conduct?—The Sway they might easily have over their Husbands, is soon lost, in eternally boasting their Wit, their Beauty, their Fortune, their Family, and that distinguishable Thing which some People call *Virtue*.

I cannot agree that it is necessary for the better Preservation of domestick Dominion, for the Women to be Tyrants. I would have them rule, but yet be generous, to rule mildly; and how despotic soever they may be in private, in publick it will be sufficient, if they just let the Company see, the *Grey Mare is the better Horse*. A Husband should still retain the external Appearance of a Man, and be indulged so far as to see a Play or an Opera by himself; nay sometimes drink his Half Pint at the Tavern, provided he gave a very good Account what Company he was in: And he might be allowed to think some Half Hours in his Life might be spent with a little Satisfaction, tho' he was not in Company with his Spouse: I can't conceive but he might have a Liberty also to make use of his Senses, and believe this or that Woman tolerably pretty, had Sense, Wit, and was agreeable, if it was a Degree at least beneath the Perfections of his *Wife*.

Craftsman, June 15. N^o 415.

Some Remarks on the Free Briton.

BEFORE the Choice of a new Parliament came on, the ministerial Drudges (says *D'Anvers*) thought themselves so sure of their Game, that they began to sing *Te Deum* upon it, and insult us with the Loss of our *Popularity*. Nay, even when the Elections were above half over, good Mrs. *Osborne* and some of her ingenious Associates in the *Courant* had

the Modesty to boast of their Success, and that the Returns then made were sufficient to determine the *Sense of the People* on their Side. But as soon as it appeared that above three Parts in four of the Counties, and most of the rich independent Corporations had declared in the strongest Terms against them, by the Choice of their Representatives, they immediately turn'd the Tables upon us, and began to depreciate the Affections of the People, which they had in vain attempted to conciliate to themselves.

The modest Esquire, who shines at the Head of the *Free Briton*, in his Paper of the 6th Inst. begins with a laboured Invektive against *Popularity*, which he hath embellished with all those Commonplace Flowers of Rhetorick, that are to be found in Plays, Poems, and Declamations. It is, in his Language, the Food of vain Ambition; the Snare of Sense and Honesty; the Breath of giddy Multitudes, which neither Wisdom nor Science can always obtain, nor Wealth with all its Treasures purchase with any Security, nor Truth and Integrity allure its Attachment to themselves, however deserving above all others. As it proceeds from, so it depends on, the great promiscuous Heap of Mankind, where Numbers, without any Sense or Property, give Law to the wisest Understandings, and to the largest Fortunes.—He runs on, with his usual Glibness, in the same loose, undistinguishing Gibberish, which is neither true nor false, without some Application, and may be properly called a pretty, disguis'd Way of saying nothing. All I can collect from it is, that Mr. *Walsingham* is very angry with the People of England for their Conduct at the late Elections; by which they have given the World a convincing Proof that Wealth with all its Treasures cannot purchase *Popularity*.

I can easily comprehend how Want of Sense may be imputed to those, who have the Hardiness to fly in the Face of Wealth with all its Treasures; but that a vast Majority of the British Freeholders should have no Property, is to me a little mysterious. Perhaps, Mr. *Walsingham* might design to insinuate that all the Property of England is confin'd to the Cinque-Ports and Cornish Boroughs.

The next Thing remarkable, in this fine Piece of Casuistry, is the Character of some great and good Man, who hath been lately degraded, and stript of all Pretences to *Popularity*.

That Man, says he, who hath been the Father of the People, and Guardian of their Happiness; whose Cares have comprehended the Interests of all, and who hath lived a publick Benefit to the Community under his Care; whose humane and compassionate Breast hath been open to every Man, with Capacity to oblige the most considerable, and Condescension to the very meanest; whose Integrity hath

hath been as much above Suspicion, as his Behaviour free from Pride, or his Hands from having been employed in any Work of Oppression; who hath neither feared Enemies, nor provoked them; who hath been disinterested in his Friendships and good Offices; equal to any Trust, and superior to all Temptations; that Man may be rejected by the People, but nevertheless will rise superior to Popularity. They may lose their greatest Ornament and Benefactor by their Ingratitude; but he can never lose the Character of having been their injur'd Father, and their abused Friend."

Mr. W. alludes to this great Personage, as well as the cruel Usage, he hath lately received from the People, in several Parts of the same Paper. In one Place, he is called the perfect Character itself; in another, the most valuable of Mankind; and in a third, the most amiable and useful Man of any in the World; but, at the same Time, we are left somewhat in the Dark for whom this perfect Character is designed. There is certainly but one Person in England, who can with any Propriety, or Decency, be stiled Father of the People, and Guardian of their Happiness. These Appellations have been always appropriated to the Sovereign, and thought incommunicable to any Subject; but I am so well acquainted with Mr. Walsingham's excellent Talent at Panegyrick, who hath often level'd Majesty upon these Occasions, and made several Improvements on *Wolfey's* modest Stile, that I am almost confident his Patron sate for this beautiful Picture. It is well known that he hath long enjoy'd the Title of *Princeps Senatus*, and hath often had the sacred Oil pour'd upon his Head; so that altho' he may not be able to prove himself the Father of the People by any Marks of natural Affection towards them, and it might be construed High Treason to call him our Father-in-Law; yet I apprehend he may be properly enough denominated the Step-Father of the People; or such a Kind of Parent as Saturn was of old, who is said to have devoured his own Children; and perhaps this may be the Reason for putting us so often in Mind of that famous Hemistich, *redeunt Saturnia Regna*; that is, in *Mother Osborne's* and Mr. *Walsingham's* English, *We are the happiest People on the Face of the Earth, and enjoy all the Liberty human Nature is capable of.*

This Point being therefore settled, that Mr. Walsingham's Patron is the Father of the People, and Guardian of their Happiness, it will be easy to reconcile the rest of the Character to that anointed Minister; whose Integrity hath certainly been as much above Suspicion, as his Behaviour free from Pride, or his Hands from having been employed in any Work of Oppression.—The Forage-Contract, the Bank-Contract, and Army-Debentures (amongst a thousand other Instances, which might be produced) are undoubted Testimonies of the first; as his Modesty in refusing Honours is a

Proof of the second; and whoever considers the true Nature and Tendency of the late Excise-Scheme, will purge him from any Imputation of the third.—Nobody can charge him with having either fear'd Enemies, or provoked them, by making use of his Power to gratify his personal Resentments, and turning Gentlemen, of the most unquestionable Abilities and Affection to his Majesty, out of their Employments, because they thought it their Duty to oppose some of his Measures.—That he hath been disinterested in his Friendships and good Offices, appears from his Gratitude to those, who assisted him in the Time of Distress, and contributed to his present Elevation.—The prudent and happy Conduct of Affairs, both at home and abroad, for several Years past, is sufficient to prove him equal to any Trust, and his moderate Acquisitions demonstrate his Superiority to all Temptations. Yet every Body knows that this great, this good, this wise Man hath been lately rejected by the People, almost with a general Voice, and that they are now in Danger of losing their greatest Ornament and Benefactor by their Ingratitude; but his worthy Advocate comforts us with an Assurance, that he will nevertheless rise superior to Popularity. This Passage puzzles me the most of any in the whole Character; and if I was not very well apprized of Mr. *Walsingham's* Sincerity, I should be apt to think that he intended to turn our Eyes towards *Temple Bar*, where I have seen many a Man raise his Head superior to Popularity; but his Attachments are so well known, that he could not be guilty of so base a Design, and only meant that this injured Father and abused Friend of the People was resolved to spurn such an ungrateful Rabble under his Feet, and defy them to do their worst.

Having chastised the Body of the People, in this publick Manner, he proceeds to their Leaders, whom he terms the Minions of Popularity, and compares them to Dictators taken from the Plough. He tells us that vulgar Pebbles (meaning these rural Dictators) have the Price of Gems in some Eyes: That is, as he is pleas'd to explain it, in the Eyes of Fools and Country Bumpkins; for those, who have had the Happiness of a Court-Education, are too well acquainted with the Difference, to be impos'd upon in this Manner. For my Part, I have always look'd upon 'Squire *Walsingham* himself as a precious Gem, which was accidentally pick'd up amongst vulgar Pebbles, and had the Honour to be stuck in the Cap of his Patron.

The learned Author of this noble Harangue concludes with a publick and explicit Confession that the general Sense of the People is against him; for he tells us, that it is not the Loss of a single Contest, which is to be considered as the real Grievance. The Example is of a

general Nature. Such a Declaration as this must be rare News to the *popular Rabble*, as well as their *Minions*; and, considering from what Hands it comes, will put them no Doubt into very good Humour. I believe, indeed, that the late Elections have sufficiently mortify'd our *political Daddy*, and that he hath but *one Artifice* left to support himself in his *Guardianship*, which he will certainly put in Practice, unless prevented by the timely Vigour and Integrity of our *new Representatives*.

Fog's Journal, June 15 and 22.

THESE Papers contain an Apology for the *Clergy*, being some Reflections on a late Letter sent to one of them by his Parishioner, (see p. 253.) I am afraid (says the Author of these Papers to *Fog*) you were deceived in the true Intention of the Writer of that Letter, who seems to me to be one of our present modern *Infidels*, who attacks Christianity thro' the Sides of the *Clergy*; and is so far from having that *Friendship* he pretends for the *Clergy* and their Religion, that he wishes both were banish'd out of *England*, that he and his Fellow-Thinkers might quietly enjoy the Pleasures and Interests of this World in the Manner they *chuse*, and appear to do it.

My Reason for this Opinion I chiefly draw from the *Method* he has chosen to *accuse* and *reform* the Conduct of the *Clergy in general*, and of the Doctor and Curate of his own Parish in *particular*, (which last, as he has laid his Accusation, must be confess'd, needs to be reform'd by proper *Authority*) by exposing it to the View of *all Orders* and *Degrees* of Men, who are Members of the same Church; and of all the *Sects* which differ from it, by *Schism* or *Infidelity*. Now this Method of *publick* Reproof and Admonition from a *private* Parishioner to the *Minister* of his Parish, I think cannot be for the *Honour* and *Interest* of the Religion of the Church of *England*, any more than for the particular *Honour* of the Ministers he has exposed. I need not therefore, now, I think, inquire whether this Scene of the Parson of 500*l.* a Year, and his Curate, is probably grounded in, and justified by Matters of Fact, or laid only to vent an impious Spleen against Religion, or an envious one against the Clergy.

But to suppose this Writer to have all the Zeal for Religion and the Clergy he desires, the more he really has, the more he is condemned by his own Argument. If it is in vain to stop Infidelity till the Clergy begin the Reformation at themselves, if their *Sermons* and Books cannot do it, so long as the *Infide's* have the strongest Fortrefs in the Ecclesiastical Immoralities of the Clergy, and he confesses that Infidelity by this Means has diffused itself into all Parts of the Nation; why does he, by

your Paper, which goes to to all Parts of the Nation, and also into foreign Christian Countries, publish their Ecclesiastical Immoralities, except to reproach our Church, and confirm the Infidels in their Opposition and Hostility to it.

If we should so far allow the Veracity of this Writer, with respect to his own Parish, and that the Ignorance and Viciousness of all People there, is owing to the Negligence and Impiety of his Curate; yet it is false Reasoning, as well as invidious, to infer the Guilt of *all* the Clergy, from the Guilt of *Particulars*. And if that friendly Expostulator with his Minister be of any Profession or Employ himself, common to others, I doubt he would complain of it, not only as inconclusive, but injurious to his Character, to *transfer* the Guilt of *another* Person to him, with whom he had no other *Concern*, than being *innocently* engaged in the same Business. So if some of the Clergy forget their Profession, and act upon the Principles of the World, it does not follow that all do so, nor reflect any Guilt upon those that do not: And if the whole Clergy should be as faulty as this Writer suggests, the Truth and Excellence of the Christian Religion would in itself never be the less.

That a willing Subject to the Episcopal Authority, and the Ministrations of the Clergy in the several Offices of the Church, should attempt, upon a slight, or no Foundation, to draw the Bishops and Clergy into Contempt; to speak favourably, is acting an inconsistent Part, no way for the Honour and Interest of our Church, or of the Christian Religion, especially when we consider the Circumstances of the present Times, wherein it appears too plainly, by some Fate or other, that the Bishops are under some Disgust, and the People more than usual pour out Complaints against them. It is out of my Sphere of Duty to examine the Foundation and Justice of the present seeming Dislike; but whatever be the Cause of it, it can only be personal, I think, and affect the particular Conduct of some of them in some *disputable* Matter, and it ought not to affect Episcopacy itself. Tho' it cannot be denied possible for Cases to happen, in a Church acknowledged to be fallible, that even Bishops may sometimes fail, and the Conduct of the best Clergy require some Amendment; yet this cannot justify any Friend of theirs to take Occasion from every Failure, to join with the Enemy in a general Cry against their personal Virtue or their Office. We know the Offices of Christian Bishops, and of the inferior Clergy they have ordained, are of all other Offices amongst Men the most sacred, (next to our anointed Sovereigns, who are also anointed by the Lord in their civil Capacities over Bishops and the Clergy) but as they were ordained to be still Men,

of the same common corrupt Nature and Frailties, they will ever be liable to some personal Misconduct, as well as others, for which all candid and equal Judges will make Allowances, and not suffer the common Condition of human Nature to draw their sacred Characters into Contempt.

The Letter-Writer makes a mighty Boast of his paying Tithes punctually and duly, as the Law requires, and seems to think the Clergy abundantly well provided for. I have to gratify my own Curiosity formerly calculated the several Values of the poor Livings subjected by the gracious Acts in Queen Anne's Reign, and her Successor's, to an Augmentation from the several Promotions of the Clergy, and I found them thus according to Mr. Edm. Livings of 50*l.* a Year, and not exceeding it, 56. Livings under 40*l.* a Year Value, 190. Livings under 20*l.* a Year from 10*l.* 448. Livings of 20*l.* a Year Value and under 30*l.* 782. Livings of 30*l.* a Year and under 40*l.* 966. Livings of 40*l.* a Year and under 50*l.* 1380. In all, under or not exceeding 50*l.* a Year, 3862. This is an additional Reason to pay the Tithes in these Livings punctually, and considering nevertheless how imperfectly and fraudulently they are paid in these Livings above all the rest; it seems to give a just and charitable Occasion to the Legislature and the Judges to construe those Modus's by which they chiefly suffer, by the original Intent of those that made them, i. e. as an Equivalent for the Tithes they were taken in Lieu of, and to make this the standing Rule of interpreting them, in all Places, and at all Times. Then the true Effect and original Intent of the Law of Tithes will take Place to the Improvement of these small Livings in the Way of Justice and Equity. But if I am either mistaken, or too presumptive in this Suggestion, I humbly ask Pardon; and I meant no more than to enforce that Precept of our Saviour to the greater Honour of our Church of England: So bath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. But if the Wisdom and Compassion of the Legislature should judge it a better Method for that Purpose to purchase Improvements, it must be acknowledged, it would promote it with more Expedition, and without Injustice to the Improvements, and be a Charity that deserv'd to be commemorated by the poor Clergy even more, if possible, than the ever-memorable Bounty of Queen Anne, that true Patroness of the Church and Nation, and deserve an annual Day of general Thanksgiving to God, and the utmost Honour for those who promoted it to Effect.

Craftsman, June 22. N^o 416.

In this Paper the Craftsman gives us the PROTESTS of the Scotch Peers in Relation to the Election of the 26 Peers there, on the

4th Instant: These Protests were publish'd in many of the News-Papers, and are thus introduc'd by the Craftsman.

I Congratulate the Publick (says he) on Mrs. Osborne's Return from the Norfolk Elections to her Post in the London Journal; where she made her Appearance again, on Saturday last, and undertook the Solution of that knotty Problem, whether the Sense of the People is with the Ministry, or against them. Our political Grandmother makes no Scruple to determine this Question in the Affirmative, and seems to cast an oblique Reflection on her Brother Walsingham, who gave it up to us the Week before. (See p. 313. G.) For this Purpose, she begins with asserting that the Freeholders of England (whom she calls a Parcel of gaping, country Fellows) are almost as ignorant of all political Knowledge, as the Beasts they ride on; and that their several Leaders are not much above them; meaning the Country Gentlemen and Clergymen. Having laid down this modest Postulatum, she concludes, with her usual logical Exactness, that those, who have no Sense of national Affairs, cannot be said to express the Sense of the Nation. She then proceeds to acquaint us where the Sense of the People really lies; that is, amongst the Citizens and Burgesses, whose Numbers are as great in most Counties, as the Freeholders themselves, and their political Knowledge much greater. Now, supposing this, it ought likewise to be considered which of the two are most free and independent; and I believe Dame Osborne will not say that the Voters for Boroughs are, generally speaking, altogether so free and independent as the Electors for Counties. Besides, the good old Lady seems to forget that the Country Party have already claim'd the Majority of Cities and great Trading Towns, as well as of the Counties, to themselves; particularly London and Bristol, which, for Numbers, Trade and Property, to say nothing of their political Knowledge, must be allowed superior to all the trading Towns and Cities in England; not excepting even Norwich itself, which Mrs. Osborne seems to mention with more than ordinary Triumph; tho' when that Election is considered in its true Light, it reflects as much Dishonour on her Patron, as any one in the whole Kingdom. Neither will the Members for all the Counties, and great trading Towns, properly so called, constitute a Majority of the House of Commons; and therefore we must collect the Sense of the People, according to this Way of Reasoning, from the little, beggarly Boroughs on the Sea-Coasts, and in two or three Inland Counties whose Circumstances render them independent on Ministers, and put it in their Power to balance the Counties and great trading Towns.

Leaving these Points therefore to our grand Mamma's farther Consideration, I shall now pass on to the Scottish Elections. I am sensible

ble that the *Court-Writers* will have some Advantage over us, in this Part of the Argument. But if we may rely on the whole Tenor of Advices from thence, the late Returns in their Favour are very far from being any Proof of the *genuine Sense of the People*, in that Part of the united Kingdom, which hath concurred with the *Sense of their Fellow-Subjects* in England, as far as they could manifest it by outward Professions and Declarations. How it came to pass that the *Voice of the People* should be drown'd in the *Choice of their Representatives*, and that the *Country Interest* should be overpowered, amidst so much Popularity, may be fully explain'd in due Time; nor is it, indeed, any great Secret at present; for by what already appears, concerning the late Election of sixteen Peers to represent the Peerage of Scotland, the Mystery is partly unfolded. Let us therefore take a short View of this Affair, as it appears from the Minutes of Election.

THE Peers of Scotland being met at the Borough-Room, in Order to chuse proper Persons to represent them in the ensuing Parliament, the Right Hon. the Earl of Stair entered the following Protest, previous to the Election, viz.

Whereas this Forenoon, a Battalion of Foot was drawn up under Arms, in the Place call'd the *Abbey-Close*, and there continues under Arms; and, whereas by the Law and constant Practice in all Britain, none of the standing Forces can lawfully continue in any Town, or Place, or in the Neighbourhood thereof, during the Time of an Election for Parliament, in that Town, or Place, and that till now, at every Election of sixteen Peers for Scotland, the King's Forces march'd out of the Suburbs, and near Neighbourhood of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and did not return till the said Elections were over; therefore I protest for myself and all, who shall adhere to this my Protestation, that the drawing up and Continuance of the said Battalion under Arms in the *Abbey-Close*, or any other Place, in the Suburbs, or near Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, during this Election of sixteen Peers of Scotland, to sit and vote in the ensuing Parliament, is illegal, and plainly tending to overawe, disquiet, and forcibly over-rule the said Election; and I, for myself, and others foresaid, protest against all the Consequences, which the said illegal Fact hath, or shall have, and for obtaining Redress thereof in proper Time and Place; and that this Election is and shall be construed not to be free, but to be overaw'd and over-ruled illegally. — Sign'd *Stair*, and by eighteen other Peers.

Protests were likewise entered against several Persons, claiming a Right to vote at this Election; and two others, by the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry, to save their Titles as

Peers of England. After which, the following general Protest was enter'd by his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, viz.

Before giving my Vote at this Election, I think it my indispensable Duty to protest, that whereas I have strong Grounds to believe that the Peers, who are to vote at this Election, have not all of them been left at Liberty to make a free Choice of such Peers as they shall judge most proper to represent the Peerage of Scotland; but that a List of the sixteen Peers hath been named by the Minister and sent down by his Agent; and that, what I apprehend to be, undue Influence hath been used with many of the Peers of Scotland, to engage them to vote for the said List; and more particularly, that I have Ground to believe the said List consists of the sixteen noble Lords afternamed, for whom I have personally the greatest Honour and Respect; to wit, his Grace the Duke of *Atbol*, his Grace the Duke of *Buccleugh*, the Marquis of *Lothian*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Sutherland*, *Morton*, *Loudon*, *Finlater*, *Selkirk*, *Bellcarras*, *Dunmore*, *Orkney*, *Portmore*, *Hopetoun*, *Isle*, and Lord *Catbert*; therefore I do protest, that in Case it shall appear, in the Course of this Election, that the List voted is, and hath been, a List so named by the Minister, and that undue Means hath been used to induce the Peers, who are to vote at this Election, or any Number of them, to vote for such List, by Promise or Grant of Place, Pension, or Reward, to themselves or their near Relations, or by Threatnings of being removed from Offices, or of any other Kind whatsoever; that such Election shall be held as illegal, contrary to the Freedom of Elections, and therefore void. And I do hereby protest, that I shall be at Liberty farther to dissent from such Election, if made, and to renew my Protest, and to offer my Reasons and Objections against the same, in a more particular Manner. Sign'd

Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, Roxburgh, Tweeddale, Rotbes, Buchan, Strathmore, Haddington, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Dundonald, Marchmont, Stair, Glasgow, Roseberrie, Salton, Elphinstone, Napier, Blantyre.

The Lord Elphinstone not only sign'd the foregoing Protest, but corroborated the Motives to it by a particular Declaration, relating to himself, in the following Words, viz.

I Charles Lord Elphinstone do hereby adhere to the Protest entered by his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, concerning undue Influence used by People in Power, for this Election of sixteen Peers to sit and vote in the ensuing Parliament. And I do it for this Reason, that they have attempted such undue Influences upon myself; which Attempts I withstood, and rejected their Offers. — At *Edinburgh* the 4th

4th Day of June 1734, at the Election of the sixteen Peers aforesaid. *Elphinstone.*

The Earl of Roseberrie adber'd to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton's Protest, for the same Reason, declaring that it was every Way his own Case.

Then came on the Election, and the List before-mentioned being voted, to a Man, his Grace the Duke of Queensberry enter'd the following Protest, viz.

I, in my own Name, and in the Name of such of the Peers of Scotland as shall adhere to me, do protest, that the pretended Election of his Grace the Duke of Athol, his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, &c. to represent the Peerage of Scotland, is void and null for these, among other Reasons.

1. That it appears from the several Circumstances which have preceded and attended this Election, that this List hath been named by the Minister, and sent down by his Agent, without Regard to the real Opinion and Sentiments of the Peers; and that several of them have been ty'd down either to give their Votes for this List, or to incur the Displeasure of the Minister.

2. That, for many Months past, very undue Influence hath been used (as I have Ground to believe, from what hath already passed at this Meeting, and hope in proper Time to make farther appear) with many of the Peers of Scotland, to engage, or intimidate them to vote for this List, at least such List as should be put into their Hands, by Promise or Grant of Money, Places, Pensions, or Preferments, civil or military, to themselves, or their near Relations; or by Threatenings of removing them, or their near Relations, from Offices they enjoy'd; or other Promises, or Threatenings, equally inconsistent with the Freedom of Elections.

3. That I am rather induced to believe that such undue Influence hath been used, because of the many notorious Instances, that have occur'd of undue Practices, with Respect to the Elections of the Commoners, by Promise or Grant of Places, civil or military, and Offers of Grants of great Sums of Money, to influence Voters, both in Counties and Burghs, such as hath not been heard of at any Time before, by known Agents of the Minister; and Liberties, that have been taken by Returning Officers, in open Violation of the Laws; the Consequences of which must be too plain, as tending intirely to the Destruction of the Freedom of Elections, the Ruin of our Constitution, the sapping the very Foundation of Parliaments, and rendering them intirely dependent, not only upon the Crown, but every assuming Minister.

For these Reasons I do protest, that the present pretended Election of the aforesaid sixteen Peers, to wit, his Grace the Duke of Athol, his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, &c.

is void; and that the Election of such sixteen Peers as have the greatest Number of Votes, setting aside the above List named by the Minister, is the only fair and free Election, and they alone are intitled to represent the Peerage of Scotland in the ensuing Parliament. And I do protest, for my Part, that I have given my Vote for the List, for which I have voted, in Consequence of my free Choice, without any undue Influence used upon me; and that I have endeavoured to use no undue Influence upon any Peer whatsoever to concur with me in that Choice; and I require you, Mr. James Justice and Mr. John Murray, Clerks of Session officiating at the said Election, to extract from the Minutes of Election, and deliver to me a Certificate of such sixteen Peers as have the greatest Number of Votes, setting aside the above List named by the Minister. Signed Queensberry, &c. as in the preceding Protest.

When the Earl of Kincardine sign'd this Protest, he reserv'd to himself a Power of making any farther Declarations of Matters within his own Knowledge, when called upon by any proper Court, or Authority.

N. B. The List on which the Minority fell, was as follows, viz. Duke of Hamilton, Duke of Montrose, Duke of Queensberry, Duke of Roxburgh, Marquess of Tweeddale, Earl of Stair, Earl of Marchmont, Earl of Rothes, Earl of Haddington, Earl of Caithness, Earl of Buchan, Earl of Aberdeen, Earl of Dondonald, Earl of Strathmore, Earl of Glasgow, and Lord Elphinstone.

London Journal, June 22. N^o 782.

Of the Voice of the People, &c.

THE Craftsman complains heavily of a corrupt Influence on the Side of the Court, and of mercenary Pamphlets and Papers dispersed thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, to deceive the People: But, for God's Sake, what does he mean? Would he have the Liberty of Writing taken away from the Ministry, and the Press left open only to them?

The Truth of the Case about the Voice of the People in the Counties, in which they triumph with so little Reason, is this: The Country People, the Majority, I mean, have been against the Court ever since the Revolution, unless in the four last Years of Q. Anne: These People were always against a Whig Administration, and always will be, till there is a more general Change among the Country Gentlemen and Clergymen, who are their sole Guides and Leaders.

Nothing can equal the Assurance of these Anti-ministerial Scriblers; they affirm, that all who vote for Members that agree with the Court, are brib'd and corrupted; and that all who vote for Members against the Court,

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vote from *Conscience* and from *natural, honest Principles*: Whereas the Truth is, there is actually more Corruption spread thro' the Nation by *Anti-Courtiers*, than by *Courtiers*; they have corrupted in the worst Sense of the Word, *Corruption*: They have corrupted the *Minds* of the People; and *brib'd* too, as far as they are able; and yet these Men complain of *Bribery* and *Corruption*! They have not only *brib'd* with Money, and corrupted with *Falshoods*, but they have dealt plentifully in all Manner of *Tricks* and *Artifices*; such as transferring *Properties*; polling *Hundreds* of *Cottagers* for *Freeholders*; turning *Estates* for 99 Years into *Estates for Life*, &c. so that when the *House* meets, we may see a Scene of *Iniquity* laid open, which these *virtuous Gentlemen*, on the *Country Interest*, would be willing should lie buried in *Oblivion*; for I am inform'd, as well as the *Craftsman*, (see p. 250.) that there is Evidence in Hand sufficient to make *some Examples*, both of the *Corrupters* and the *Corrupted*; we may then make *some Guess* at least, who have been most corrupt. I am very sure the *Anti-Court Party* hath been most corrupt in making *Honorary-Freemen*, which is one of the greatest of all *Corruptions*; for 'tis actually creating *Voters* to serve an *Occasion*; and absolutely destroys the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *Cities* and *Boroughs*; for which Reason, I hope (says *Osborne*) to see an *Act of Parliament* very soon, which will lay the *Ax* to the *Root* of the *Tree*, and put an *End* to this scandalous *Practice*.

To conclude: Supposing it true, that the *Majority* of the People are against the *Ministry*, what doth that prove? The People are sometimes *right*, and sometimes *wrong*: They have been in the *Right* against *Kings* and *Parliaments* too; and they have been in the *Wrong* against both.

Grubstreet Journal, June 27. N^o 235.

The Humours of Will Whimsy; and certain fashionable Vices expos'd.

Dear Bavy,

THE common Notion is, that *Drunkards* are best qualified for *Writing*: For which Reason I take myself to be in a Condition to appear in the World as an *Author*, and therefore send you this *Epistle*. It is true, *My Head akes consumedly*: But I take that to be somewhat of the *Impulse*, of which *Poets* frequently speak; and that *Apollo* plucks me a little harder by the *Ears* than he commonly does other People, and makes them tingle, to give me a smarter Sense of my *Duty*.

Am I drunk, my dear Bavy?—No; and therefore, contrary to the common Mode of *Writers*, I will now consider what I am to write upon. Let me see—Shall I investigate

the *Purlieus of Fog* and the *Craftsman*, and write upon *Politics*? I should shew myself far from sober, if I did: Or, what if I could prostitute my *Pen*, and turn *Hackney-Writer*? I fancy I could make black white, or white black, as well as the best of them. I could sophisticate Words, and spew out Sentences with *Walsingham*, without blending one good Argument to mar the Mixture. I could out-glaver *Carus*, and outsnore mother *Osborne*; and that you must allow is no mean Accomplishment:

But to show, that drunken Men can think, and consequently that the Law is very just, by which, any one, who, in that Condition, offends capitally, is to be hanged, when he is sober; I have thought upon a Subject which will do, and shall only wait your Approbation. Suppose I should follow notable Precedent, and libel some overgrown great Man, with Matters of Fact, into a Composition for *Taciturnity*. I would next divert the Keenness of my tremendous Pen into a Translation of some old *Arabic* or *Hebrew-Greek* Author (which neither he nor I understand) and exact fresh Contribution by an unheard of Number of Subscriptions, sufficient to overstock all the Libraries of *Europe*.

But Men in my Condition, Mr. *Bawius*, are apt to be troubled with *Qualms*: And I find one just now come over my Stomach, which affects me with unaccountable Reachings. It is either a *Qualm* of *Modesty*, or *Security*; I do not yet know which: Without waiting therefore for your Discussion, I will change my Scheme, and chuse a Task less dangerous. I will openly despise *Virtue* and its Followers; and demonstrate to the Wise and Penetrating, that there is no one of our Vices that stands in need of praising to gain Practice.—E. G. And first of all, there is *Fornication*, that *natural and excusable Failing*, as a certain Doctor of Physic, writing on an out-o'-the-way Subject, in a Way suitable to the Subject, was pleas'd to express himself. But, alas, I have little to say on this *Failing*, more than that the Universality of the Practice hardly distinguishes the *Jew* from the *Christian*.—In this, our modern Men of *Samarita* tread exactly in the Steps of their Forefathers: When the Precept is to their *Goût*, they are *Jewish* all over; but when the Penalty is severe, not one bit of *Jew's* *Flesh* is to be found about them. Witness that other familiar *Failing*, as they phrase it, *Adultery*: The Penalty on which by the *Jewish* Law was *Death*; but by our tender-hearted Nation, we find now softened gently into a *Mulct* or *Fine*. This is an infallible Way indeed of double taxing the poor Sinner: But the Rich, if he does not carry his *Conscience* about him, is neither in *Trouble*, nor *Danger*. A Peer, or a Parliament Man, after he has griped into his Paws the best Argument for her better Usage, may send his good and beautiful

Wife

Wife into the Country, to feed Chickens; in order to keep a Trollop in Town, impunitively, whom his own Age and Discretion, as well as the Laws of God and Man, had interdicted him. These Heroes of the Petticoat reckon every Man that talks against their Gout on this Subject a Fool: And every wise Man is as sure to return their Compliment.

Another Vice, which Practice has rendered a Peccadillo, is that of prophane Swearing. A Vice so general, and yet so very low, that a drunken Man would blush to see the Contest between Quality and Mobility for the Precedence. Most certain it is, the Porter and Drayman have often put their peer-like Competitors to their last Trumps to maintain their Peerage; who, nevertheless, continue so condescending in the Contest, as to give the World great Hopes of seeing those Heroes of the Beau Monde shortly mount the Stage at the Bear-Garden, or Stokes's Amphitheatre. Nero was an Emperor, and did it: And sure Imperial Example is as good as the Porter's.

I protest to you, Mr. Bavius, my Head is grown cooler with writing: so cool, that I begin to imagine, that in Equity, I ought next to fall upon the Failing I at present suffer under; I mean the Vice of Drunkenness. Indeed, Mr. Bavius, I confess myself a Novice: So that the Penance, which the Friar imposed on a frail Brother of mine at Confession, would be a very unacceptable Equivalent. Without therefore consulting common-place Books for proper, but odious Stigmas, I shall fairly conclude, that as Thinking has brought me back my Reason, no Man that ever thinks, would think it becoming any Part of a wise Man to part with it on every trifling Occasion. Good Wine, or good Company, may very possibly now and then delude a Man to take a Glass or two extraordinary. But why do we boast of Reason, or how do we show it; if, when we find it a going, we yet suffer the Glass to steal it quite away, to our manifest Inconvenience and Ridicule? To be a Buffoon to the rest of my Company, may be a Diversion to them; and at that Moment perhaps to myself: But when Reason returns, with what mean, what abhorrent Reflections must I look back on those Moments, wherein I depreciated human Nature, if not to the low Degree of a Brute, to the not much more honourable Station of a Harlequin or Jack-Pudding.

WILL WHIMSY.

Fog's Journal, June 29. N^o 295.

How to judge of Ministers.

IT is reported of Sir William Temple, that when a certain Quack sent him the Offer of his Service, under a severe Fit of the Gout, with positive Promise of immediate Ease, and infallible Cure, he only ask'd whether the

Doctor came in his Coach or a Foot; and being told he walk'd it, dismiss'd him without farther Tryal; readily concluding, that were he really possess'd of so valuable a Secret, he could not want any Convenience of Life, and that he, who would restore the Use of other Peoples Limbs, must be necessarily enabled to consult the Ease of his own.

A It is indeed generally true (says Fog) that in those Arts that appeal to a popular Approbation, Merit is the Basis of Success; but where Fortune or Advancement depends on the Will or Caprice of a single Person, it is commonly otherwise; and the Reason is plain, since almost every Individual is liable to *Imposition, Flattery, or Fear*; but the Many are a Mirror to one another, and each sees that Weakness in his Neighbour, which he would be partial to in himself. Hence it is, that tho' *Lying, Impudence, and Temerity; infinite Promises, frontless Assertions, and impossible Enterprizes*, can raise the medicinal Quack no higher than a Smithfield Stage, yet we find, upon Recollection of former Ages, many Instances of *State Quacks*, who were promoted to the highest Fortune, Honours, and Employments, by the very same Qualities.

C But however defective this Rule of judging of the Ability, by the Opulence, may be, when apply'd to the State Quack; it is certainly no ill Way of discovering his *Honesty and Integrity*. I am well aware, that these Qualities alone, tho' absolutely necessary, are by no Means sufficient to entitle a Man to publick Employment; Diligence, and Uprightness may constitute a tolerable Steward, but by no Means a good Minister. A Man possess'd of many Virtues may, thro' want of Genius, or Capacity, impoverish, and involve a Nation in infinite Difficulties; but yet, in this Case, it were some Satisfaction, that the publick Calamities were the Effect of Ignorance or Accident, not of Villainy or Design. There is a Bias in human Nature, which renders the Virtues of the Heart, an acceptable Excuse for the Faults of the Head; and we seldom find any Person, however fatal to us, follow'd by a general Hate, till he has render'd his Intentions, as well as his Actions, suspected to the People. Could we suppose the great Man above-mention'd, who from a long Enjoyment of the highest Offices and Employments, had made no other Acquisitions, than of publick Fame, and secret Satisfaction, the innocent Instrument of any great Evil to these Kingdoms, may we not reasonably conclude, that an Appeal to his private Circumstances, and the moderate Use of his Power and Prosperity, would render him rather an Object of Pity, than Resentment.

There are, 'tis true, many Abuses in the Power of a Minister of far more pernicious Consequence, than the amassing a private Wealth, or aggrandizing a particular Family;

T t 2

but

but *these* lie more level to common Understanding, and are more obvious to every Eye. State Policy, Transactions, and Negotiations, are Things remote from us; they pass to us thro' many Mediums, from which they take their Colour; and often lose their Deformity by their Distance. 'Tis true, we always feel it in the Consequence; but then we journey slowly towards this Evidence, and in the mean Time give little Attention to the Warnings of those whom we do not think more sharp-sighted and experienced than ourselves; but when we find ourselves involv'd in inextricable Difficulties, and surrounded with imminent Dangers, we then begin to murmur, and enquire why our Guides have thus abus'd and misled us. And here it is that the Circumstances of the Minister become the Standard of our Judgment. If, for Instance, a Nation languishes under a general Poverty, and Decay of Trade; if her Fields are loaded with Taxes, and her Streets filled with Bankrupts; if a long Peace has had the Effect of an expensive War, large Disbursements serv'd only to encrease great Debts, and tedious Negotiations but diminish'd her Power, and weakened her Security; it is natural and necessary for the People to see, that there must have been some Mismanagement at the Root of these Evils; but if, at the same Time, the Person at the Head of Affairs be alone unaffected by these Calamities, we not only judge him instrumental, but triumphant in our Fall. In this Case the Ease and Opulence of those in Power, are not only esteemed the Causes, but the Aggravations of our Misfortune. Their Wealth is an Insult upon our Poverty, their Luxury imbibbers every Want, their Security doubles every Danger we are expos'd to. Nor can any Plea, or Pretence of Innocence, or Integrity take place, while there is this plain Evidence, that they enjoy peculiar Advantages, that do not result from the general State of Affairs, or the particular Employments they are possess'd of. And this Evidence every body may have, since whoever can reckon twenty can easily compute the real Value of publick Employments: If then, beside the Profits that reward publick Service, any Person rise to a Degree of Wealth and Grandeur, incon-

ceiveably beyond the *best* Means of enriching himself, if from moderate or low Beginnings, or indeed from Want and Beggary, by passing thro' a Course of publick Business, in which he has been always prodigal, tho' not generous; without the Advantage of any extraordinary Success; but on the contrary, involv'd in a thousand self-created Difficulties; and so far from obtaining any publick Benefaction, or Confidence, that his Conduct has been always suspected, watched, and observ'd upon; if, from such Circumstances as these, he appear possess'd of endless Wealth, which neither the erecting of Palaces to be converted into Store-houses of Pomp, and Magnificence, for which all Europe is ransack'd, and where the Arts of Greece and Rome are rather hoarded, than display'd; nor the Luxury of Entertainments, whose Disorder doubles their Expence, can exhaust, or diminish; if he be the never-failing Banker of all those, whose Riot and Extravagance oblige them to sacrifice their Honour to their Wants; and the sole Purchaser of such Ware as no Body is willing to take, even *Gratis*, off his Hands; for which yet he pays an immense Price; if, like the Sun, he communicates Value and Brightness to the very Dregs of the Earth, without diminishing his own Splendor, he must, like that, have the Power of creating Gold, or else he must abuse the Trust repos'd in him, and enrich himself by the Plunder of his Country. And if this is once plainly prov'd upon some Persons in high Stations, there is no Wickedness or Villainy, that is probably asserted of such an one, but will gain an easy Belief.

But if, on the contrary, a Person entrusted with Power and Employment has made no Self-use or Advantage of it, it will, on all Occasions, be naturally concluded, that he had nothing but the publick Good in View, however unsuccessful he may prove in the Prosecution of it.

N. B. The Craftsman of this Day containing only an Extract from the Life of Cardinal Ximenes, about certain Imposts in the Kingdoms of Castille and Leon; we therefore omit it.

Errat. p. 315. col. 2. l. 6. from the bottom, read dependent.

A Description of Morning. By the Author
of the Epistle on rural Felicity, and Essay
on modern Poets.

NOW glimm'ring light the purpled skies
display,
Aurora blushing ushers in the day;
The sun his orient rays remotely spreads,
And gayly gilds th' aerial mountains beads;
The waking swains their labours now renew,
The meadows glisten with the pearly dew;
The choristers, their nests relinquish'd, rove;
The field revisit! resalute the grove!
The rising day their notes regaling seem,
And join the murmurs of the purling stream;
With odoriferous wings the Zephyrs fly;
Joy fills each heart! and pleasure ev'ry eye!
Fair scenes appearing to the ravish'd view,
The whole creation seems reviv'd and new.
In rural seats, so lovely and serene,
Health is, and truth in golden times was seen;
Such are the beauties of th' unblemish'd mind
(Surpassing all the charms of womankind!)
And such, ev'n such (cou'd we behold her here)
So fair and tempting, virtue wou'd appear.

A Description of a tempestuous Morning. By
the same Author.

THE morning is o'erspread with low'ring
gloom,
The breaking day appears the day of doom;
The sun seems sluggish, and as loth to rise,
Obliquely squinting thro' th' envelop'd skies;
His disk by fits reveals a fiery red;
Descending clouds involve the mountains head;
Hoarse thunder rumbling grozels, the horrid glare
Of forked lightning rends the dusky air;
By flashing starts a ratt'ling show'r descends;
The sturdy oaks a rushing tempest bends:
The birds their late abodes explore again;
And flocks and herds, mixt with th' affrighted
swain,
Hie to thick coverts from th' inclement plain.
Thus is the mind, which passion's force obeys;
Foul lust, or wild imagination sways;
These its serener pleasures ruffling spoil,
And all the grace of heav'n and nature soil.

ODE in Domicilium Hortumque Vicariz
D--t--d--n--is Comitatu C--t--i.

1.
ALBA domus, blanda sedes!
Qua moratur felix bespes!
En viator,
Quam alme statui!
Parce mi' canenti laudes.

2.
Terram floribus vigentem,
Instar Maii jam micantem,
Veni cum vis,
Ita cernis
Instar Maii sic ridentem.

* Hujusmodi Flores gerunt Nomina Personarum Illustrium: Sic item Caryophilli.

3.
Juxta portas, ab hoc scamno,
Hos sudore, illos somno
Spectes equis,
Curru, a Gallis
Prætereuntes sine damno.

4.
Tolle jam ocellos altim,
Quo corvini pulli saltim
Captant ramos
Super rivos,
Matres invocantes item.

5.
Matrem, nigras inter, nigram
Quam scit, esca reversuram
Et apertis
Plaudit alis
Certus, pullus quisque suam!

6.
Suavis florum O pictura!
Colore qualis non dictura!
Tinctus habes
Certe omnes!
Mutans formam non visura!

7.
Intus penetra, viator,
Scias scamnos queis spectatur
Haud vulgaris
Urbi auris,
Nomen cui * præclarum datur.

8.
Inde, fuge ad id clarum
Scamnum caryophylorum.
Tales flores
Et colores
Stupent acies oculorum!

9.
Tun' aut amas seriatas
Arbores, & fructuosas?
Coram gaudent;
Partu splendent:
Fructus qui arident mandas.

10.
Vis cerasa rubicunda
Turgida, plus vinolenta?
Tende manum,
Fac os plenum;
Premunt ramos, en, ad ora!

11.
Tunc fraga verecunda,
Tam silvestra quam hortensia?
Sata areolis
In sæcundis
Ecce magna & rotunda!

12.
Tun' Idæi rubi Mara
Vis vinosa, flava, rubra?
Tende lucem
Hanc ad sepem,
Ede cito, plaudite pulchra!

13.
Sitis Corinth' acas Uvas?
Cupis Baccas anserinas?

Hæc

Hæc repleta
Dant arbuta
Belgi' cultu melioratas!

14.

Vifne Pruna decumana
Succis cryſtallinis plena?
Hoc ſelectum
Ad Prunetum

Adſtans, voreſ ter centend.

15.

Gufu Gallo commendata,
Sole Hiberno maturata
Pyra velis
Inſtar mellis?

Hiſce te tu ſaturato.

16.

Multinominis, curioſa,
Diuturna quam ſuccoſa
Poma mavis?

Hic quando viſ,
Edas byeme, formoſa.

17.

Ficus pingueſ cum tinſtura
Optas alba vel purpur' a?
Vade mecum
Ad Ficetum,

Palma cedunt contaſtura.

18.

Tu pro cupis, tumefcenter
Uvas vindemiare gaudes?
Hunc cultellum,
Hanc ſportellam

Pone me Vineto portes;

19.

Juglandes frangere dilectas,
Amygdala, aut avellanas
Forti dente,
Acri mente

Nuces? Hic aperte ſpectes.

20.

Verbo dicam: Poma, Pyra,
Nuces, Pruna, Fraga, Mora,
Uvas, Ficus,
Tempeſtivirus

Tu, dum ſpires obe! vora.

21.

Viſum eamus jam ſi velles
Domicilium atque • Feſer,
(Feſer pulchras,
Mites, blandas,
Mali muris maſtatores!)

22.

Quæ ſuperna vel inferna
Ædis adames conclavia!
Sine ſuſtu,
Cum modoſto

Nitore lucent omnia.

23.

Quæriſ quæ ſunt hæc cavernæ
Lauri tegunt quas Hibernæ?
Certe portant
Et coronant

Peta ambroſia ac Falerna.

• Matrona Felibus gaudet nitidis.

24.

Ipoſ tandem ſalutabis
Hoſpites? viſoſ amabis
Bini conſtant:
Florem laudant.

Beatoſ certe jam cantabis!

25.

Ut oblectant quemque hoſpitem,
Ut amate degunt, vellem

Nunc cantare;

Sed laudare

Hæc, experto t'ipſo, mallet.

A SONG.

THE charms of Florimel,
No force, of time, or art,
Shall ſever from my heart;
But ever to the world I'll tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.
Each rock and ſunny bill,
The flow'ry meads and groves,
Shall ſay Mertillo loves;
And echo ſhall be taught to tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.
Each tree within the vale,
That on its bark doth wear
The triumphs of the ſair,
To future times, in verſe, ſhall tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.
Each brook and purling rill,
Shall on its bubbling ſtream,
Convey the virgin's name,
And as it rolls in murmurs tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.
The Sylvan gods that dwell
Amidſt this ſacred grove,
Shall wonder at my love,
While every ſound conſpires to tell
The charms of beauteous Florimel.

Upon the Death of a young Lady's Lap-Dog.

CLOE, the young, the ſair, the gay,
Was at her toilet ſet,
When Cupid, pretty triſter, lay
Expiring at her feet.
She ſtoop'd and ſtrok'd his little head:
He caſt a mournful look:
Come hither, ſilly rogue, ſhe ſaid:
His tail be ſaintly ſhook.
She view'd him dying, drop'd a tear,
Ah! Cupid's dead, ſhe cry'd;
Well pleas'd to ſee, well pleas'd to bear,
He bow'd his head and dy'd.
Thrice happy Cupid! whom we ſee
Thus lov'd in life and death;
Who would not, to be mourn'd like thee,
In tranſport yield his breath?

The Old COQUETTE.

PRITHEE, old Rugs, paint give o'er,
Thoſe ribbands, and that youthful dreſs:
For

For those grey hairs betray fourscore,
And nature in decay confess.

These eyebrows which from mouse you steal,
'Tis true, we for their sleekness prize:

But then (what they can ne'er conceal)
We curse the more your rheumy eyes.

This cheek is smooth; but ah! on that
The wrinkled paint betrays a cranny;
You look at once—I know not what—
This side a *Venus*—that a *Granny*.

Your faults of age we doubly see,
When them in vain with art you'd mend:
Seem old and ugly, as you be,
And, *Ruga*, 'faith you'd less offend.

THE REVOLUTION.

WHAT godlike saints or heroes shall I chuse,
At once the theme, and honour of my
muse?

Let *Pindar* champions in the race rehearse,
And paint their coursers rapid as his verse.
Let others, in exalted lines, relate
Great *Cæsar's* rise, or shining *Pompey's* fate;
A nobler subject still remains unsung,
The pride and envy of a *British* tongue.

Nassau, the tow'ring genius of our land,
Does our regard and wonder first command;
When superstition, with tyrannick sway,
Began her burdens on our necks to lay;
When justice from our publick courts was fled,
And pure religion durst not show her head;
He, like an angel arm'd with heav'nly pow'r,
Preserv'd our nation, in the destin'd hour.
The clouds, that did portend a stormy day
By his serene approach were driv'n away;
To you, O mighty prince, what thanks are due!
For next to heav'n we owe our all to you;
Your sword procur'd us liberty and peace,
You sacrific'd your own, for *England's* ease.
Fain wou'd the muse your battles here rehearse,
And with your valour animate her verse;
Pursue you to the *Boyne*, or join your carr,
Return'd in triumph from the *Flandrian* war;
But narrow bounds forbid your conquering arms
Knew no superiour but *Maria's* charms.
Joy of her lord, and darling of the land,
Pattern of love, and virtue's steady friend;
To latest times be consecrate your name,
And live together in immortal fame.

Where *William* sets, you see our *Anna* rise,
And with new glory gild the *British* skies;
Like *Cynthia* she out-shone her sister-train,
But like her too, alas! she had her wane;
When in full brightness she adorn'd our isle,
Great was th' advantage of our soldiers toil;
With prudent counsel she her measures laid,
And glorious *Marlboro's* splendid triumphs made:
But four disastrous years eclips'd the ray
Of beamy conquest, and refulgent sway:
In clouds her glory set—but *George* arose
The nation's hope, and terror to his foes;
A calm serene soon overspread our sky,
When we expected storms, and tempests nigh.
Tho' mad rebellion rais'd her head awhile,

And threat'ned swift destruction in our isle;
His arms triumphant stop'd her proud career,
Which vanquish'd, did at *Preston* disappear.
A smiling plenty did from thence succeed,
And peaceful olives crown'd the victor's head;
In rising tides our trade began to roll,
And brought us annual wealth from either pole;
But when he could no greater bliss bestow,
Nor make us happier than we were below;
The noble end b'ing gain'd, for which he strove,
He left our bliss below, for bliss above.

See who succeeds! another *George* appears!
The hope, and pledge of many happy years;
Join'd with a *Consort* of exalted mind
To bless, and to adorn the world design'd;
Tho' great's the honour to be fought by kings,
And crowns and scepters are enticing things,
Yet her ennobled soul (record it, muse,)
Could the *Imperial* diadem refuse,
Rather than leave religion's sacred law,
And unto pompous superstition bow.

Blest royal pair, may constellations shed
The best of blessings on your happy head;
Be blest in every action of your life,
Secure from treason, and domestic strife;
And when the fates forbid you here to shine,
Late, late, for one above, this orb resign.

Quintilianus Icenus.

On the Folly of Atheism.

HOW weak the atheist's argument, how odd,
Who to be happy first denies a God:
Then with too little faith truth to believe,
Can show too much an error to conceive;
So inconsistent, and his folly such,
He trusts too little, while he trusts too much.
A foe profess'd to God-Almighty's laws,
Yet a blind bigot in the Devil's cause;
He from free-thinking hopes to gain some light,
Thinks free on every subject but the right;
A hint there is a God raises a doubt,
And prejudice puts weaker reason out:
Of reason proud, by passion rul'd alone,
Because he'd have no God, concludes there's none,
Thinks chance with blind effect nice order brings,
And harmony from wild confusion springs,
Springs of itself--- for all spontaneous grow,
And the created are creators too:
Then Immortality he'll disbelieve,
Yet starts to think he cannot always live;
Dreading it true a future state denies,
And while he laughs at death, with fear he dies,
Despairing, launches to some future state,
Repents his folly, but repents too late.

The Lamentation of a Parishioner of Ealing, for
the present Want of a Church, and the Loss
of a good Wife. N. B. A Brief was lately
granted for rebuilding the said Church.

POOR Ealing, how art thou a desert grown!
Thy houses empty'd, and thy lovers gone!
Some move their tents to more auspicious climes;
Some, mov'd by death, are snatch'd from evil
times,

A dismal gloom thy dwellings overspreads;
Thy antient buildings hang their drooping
A general decay proclaims their wants, [heads:
And new ones mourn without inhabitants.
Poor *Ealing*, how art thou a desert grown!
Who'll fill thy houses, while thy *God* has none?

These mournful objects urge my grief and
Tempt me to leave so tragical a scene: [spleen,
From this sad station to some other go,
And quit so many monuments of woe.

But dear *Cordelia's* ashes bid me stay:
Her sacred shade is now my *remora*.
This spot to me shall be *Macbeth's* cave;
I'll not forsake *Cordelia* in her grave.
Nor will I, O ye sacred stones, which lie
In heaps forlorn, and prostrate majesty,
Forsake your ruins, nor indulge my rest,
Till *God* vouchsafe to second my request;
Till once again I see his temple raise
Its awful head, so he prolong my days,
His new-raised altar visit there, and there
the mercy praise.

The following Lines were wrote by a Yorkshire
Freeholder, upon the Close of the Poll for that
County.

To Sir Miles Stapleton, Baronet.

AT length the contests cease, the courts are
clear,
Doubt is no more, and joy succeeds to care;
Success is yours, and gratitude inclines
To pay her tribute where such merit shines.
Virtue like yours, contemns th' opposing shock
Of venal courtiers, and the sable flock;
For you, the bold **Brigantes* bravely stood,
True to the glories of their ancient blood;
By threats unmov'd, regardless of the bait
Of sordid bribes, corruption of the state.
To liberty, bright goddess, firmly just,
In you they place the delegated trust.
So *Rome* untainted, her great consuls chose,
Her *Cato's* thus, and thus her *Scipio's* rose.
Indulgent heav'n to you compleatly kind,
Gives elocution, with the noblest mind,
To shine in *senates*, manage the debate,
And with your counsels prop the tottering state.
In happier times exert a patriot's care,
Wrongs to redress and *losses* to repair!
When *Britain* calls, and honour points the way,
With joy you'll follow, and with pride obey;
Surpass your own great ancestors in fame,
And wear the † *stars* familiar to your name.

KIRBY-HILL. A Poem.

AID sylvan muse, my rural song,
To thee all rural things belong;
Aid, whilst I sing in humble lays,
A country life's deserved praise;

Where nature seems to vie with art,
And every bliss of life impart.
In *Kirby* village * might I live,
For no ambition would I strive;
No honour, whose attendant's care,
Nor envy nor malignant war,
Shou'd e'er molest my rural ease;
There would I live in perfect peace:
Blest with a competency meet,
Life to support 'gainst cold and heat.
A choice companion wou'd I have,
Good-natur'd, affable and grave;
No charms I covet, virtue's all
That worth acceptance I can call:
Let her in modesty delight,
Be kind all day, the same all night;
Thus in sweet harmonious love,
We'll resemble saints above;
Surrounded by the cheerful notes
Of birds that strain their warbling throats,
To introduce the new-born *Spring*;
Source of joy to every thing:
From distant hills the huntsman's horn
Ushers in the rosy morn;
And the lark with early flight,
Hovering greets the dawning light.
Whistling goes to plow the hind,
With contented mein and mind;
Each mead adorn'd with flowers gay,
How beauteous is the queen of *May*!
Every plain with lambs refounds,
And every tree with bloom abounds;
Promising a plenteous soil
To reward the peasant's toil.

Summer succeeds, whose solar ray
Converts the grass to wither'd hay;
Haycocks appear in every field,
That ambrosial nosegays yield;
To make which comes a jovial train,
Each nymph takes out her youthful swain;
Side by side they jog a-long,
Or with chit chat, or with song,
Pass away the live-long day,
As they make the fragrant hay:
Till *Sol* retire to ocean bed,
And hills protract their lengthned shade;
When the milk-maid blith and jolly,
Greatest foe to melancholy,
Seeks the cows o'er field or plain,
With a shrill delightful strain:
Whilst the blackbird to outvie her,
From some thorn or latent brier,
Tunes his wild unequal'd strains
To the list'ning ravish'd swains.

Autumn comes next with golden ears,
And dissipates the peasant's fears.
Strait other works are left undone
To reap and bind the bearded corn:
And then kind † *Ceres* they each year,
In festivals and mirth reverse:

And

* The ancient Name of the People of Yorkshire. † Sir Miles, and Sir Bryan Stapleton,
Ancestors to the present Baronet, were Knights of the Garter.

* Near Richmond in Yorkshire, where the Author had his Education. † The Goddess of *Ceres*.

And to the * jolly God sing praise,
In rustick *Bacchanalian* lays:
Whilst melodious bagpipes play,
Driving ** *Morpheus* far away;
Each singles out his fav'rite she
To dance and sing with wonted † glee,
In the barn, or on the green;
Thus they trip to all unseen,
Save pale †† *Cynthia* queen of night,
That affords her borrow'd light;
And the twinkling starry train,
‡ Brightest harp, and northern wain;
Privy to their midnight bliss:
Gods! what pastime equals this!

How great reluctance 'tis to view
Blith nature in her *brumal* hue!
Instead of sportive *Zephyrs* gales,
That frequent the lawns and dales;
And brisk †† *Etesian* winds that swage
The scorching *dogstar's* sul'try rage:
Keen *Boreas* with benumbing force,
Congeals the river's wand'ring course;
The trees of pleasing green despoil'd,
With icicles and snow are veil'd:
Yet *Kirby*, 'midst this *disbabilie*,
Yields immortal pleasures still.
Neighb'ring friends all met together,
Out of reach of wives or weather;
Round a fire, whose bounteous heat
Spurns the wind, and laughs at wet;
Cheer'd with nappy strong and old,
That defies the pinching cold;
When inspir'd with sparkling ale,
Each relates some jocund tale,
That boasts its birth from *Chaucer's* pen,
Or what occur'd in *Bess's* reign.
Who is *twig*, or who is *tory*,
Ne'er disturbs the current story;
Save the parson, grown heroick,
Tho' in pulpit grave as *Stoick*,
Prays for *W-----le* on his hassock,
For support of gown and cassock.

With variety surrounded,
Pleasant scenes of mirth unbounded,
Which each season does present,
Kirby sure for kings was meant.
Hail *Kirby*, worthy of the gods!
Hail! meadows, founts and shady woods!
May thy attractive charms induce
To sing thy praise, brave * *Denham's* muse;
And may thy beauties still remain,
When all things else are in the wane;
Till time itself shall cease to reign.

E. C.

DAMON and DYCTINNA. A Dialogue.

Dam. MY dear *Dyctinna*, pray relate,
When you and I together sat
Yesterday evening in the grove,
Why would you hear me talk of love?

Why did you tremble in my arms?
Or blush to hear me count your charms?
To know what *Damon* could desire,
Why was *Dyctinna* all on fire?
Why when I ask'd you did you sigh?
Yet when I prest you still deny?

Dyc. Ah! *Damon*, never ask me why;
Shou'd you be pleas'd if I comply?
When *Damon* his desires wou'd move,
Dyctinna thinks of lawless love.
You give your heart, why not your hand?
Dyctinna waits her swain's command.
And why shou'd *Damon* ought desire,
That sets *Dyctinna* all on fire?
I ask for wedding, still you sigh,
And when I prest it, still deny.

Dam. Should I consent to your desire,
Streight must my liberty expire.
In this man's greatest blessing lies,
But should I yield, alas it dies.

Dyc. And should I yield before I wed,
My honour, *Damon*, will be dead.
As this supports all female joys,
They all must fail when honour dyes.

Dam. Thy virtue, fairest, still maintain,
Yet let not *Damon* sue in vain:
I importun'd thee, but to prove
If thou wou'd'st yield to lawless love.
This did thy faithful heart oppose;
But oh! comply with marriage vows.

Dyc. My virtue pure I still maintain,
Nor yet let *Damon* sue in vain.
Damon rejected well can prove,
I ne'er shall yield to lawless love.
But from my faithful heart he knows
Pleas'd I comply with marriage vows.

Both. Let us talk then no more like a nymph
and a swain;

But like persons united for life.
Be our passion sincere tho' our living be plain,
And be happy both husband and wife.

Dyc. Yet oh! we must wait,
For reasons of state
'Tis prudent a little to tarry.

Dam. But if, whilst we wait,
Those reasons of state
Shou'd make all our project miscarry?

Dyc. My hand and my heart
To thee I impart,
And my vows, whilst I live, I'll maintain.

Dam. Since then I am sure
That my bliss is secure:
Oh! kiss me, and kiss me again.

Both. Go the world how it will then, we're
sure to rejoyce;
Thus happy in each other's love.
In vain she shall threaten, in vain she'll entice,
No art shall our constancy move.

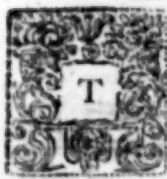
* *Bacchus*, God of Wine. ** God of Sleep.
cida Lyra. †† Winds that blow in the Dog-days.

† Mirth. †† The Moon.
* Author of *Cooper's-Hill*.

The GENTLEMAN's
Monthly Intelligencer.

JUNE, 1734.

SATURDAY, June 1.



THE Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the five following Persons received Sentence of Death, viz. *Thomas Taverner*, alias *Cotton*, for robbing the Lady of *Samuel Russell*, Esq; late Sheriff of *London and Middlesex*; *Roger Bow*, a *Putney Waterman*, for the Murder of *Thomas Field*, a Butcher's Boy in *Hungerford-Market*, by cutting his Guts out; *William Ray*, for the Murder of his Wife in *Eagle-street, Holborn*; *Joseph Hart*, for breaking open a Scrutore, and stealing thence some Linnen, and 27 l. 14 s. in Money, and a Pair of Silver Buckles; and *Samuel Walker*, for breaking open a Desk in the Compting-House of his Master Mr. *Joseph Hague*, and stealing Cash, Bills of Exchange, and Promissory Notes to the Amount of 981 l. 14 s. 7 d.

Five were burnt in the Hand, five ordered to be whipt, and about twenty ordered for Transportation.

SUNDAY, 2.

This Day, about Twelve o'Clock, one *Perkins*, a Journeyman Gardener in *Lamb-Alley* in *Blackman-street, Southwark*, having some Words with his Wife, drew out his Knife which he used in the Gardens, and stabbed her in the Groin, of which Wound she instantly died. Whereupon he was apprehended and carried before Sir *John Lade*, who committed him to the New Jail. When before the Justice he was asked how he came to be guilty of such a horrid Crime, having, as may properly be said, murdered two, his deceased Wife being big with Child; he said she provoked him, and that he would rather be hanged than live with such a Woman; and withal, seem'd not in the least concern'd; and the Mob being very numerous, he desired them not to hurt him. The Coroner's Jury having sat on the Body, brought in their Verdict *Wilful Murder*. The Body being opened, the Child was taken out at its full Growth.

TUESDAY, 4.

Came on at *Edinburgh* the Election of 16 Peers of *Scotland* to sit and vote in the Parliament of *Great Britain*; when several *Protests* were enter'd before and after the Election, (which see, p. 316.) and the Choice fell upon the List mention'd in Duke *Hamilton's* Protest.

WEDNESDAY, 5.

The Directors of the *Bank of England* began to transact Business at their new House in *Threadneedle-street*, having remov'd the greatest Part of their Effects from *Grocer's-Hall*.

MONDAY, 10.

The Princess *Amelia* arriv'd from *Bath*, at *Kensington*; whither also the Court came from *Richmond*, on the same Day.

THURSDAY, 13.

All the Writs for electing Members for the new Parliament were returnable on this Day; and his Majesty was pleas'd to signify his Pleasure to the Lord Chancellor, that the Parliament should be prorogued to the 16th Day of *July* next.

FRIDAY, 14.

This Morning, between Twelve and One o'Clock, a Fire broke out at *Twickenham*, at the House of *M. Chavigny*, the *French* Ambassador, which entire'y consumed the same and all the Furniture, &c. It was occasion'd by a Servant's leaving a Candle burning in the Confectionary too near the Wainscote. Mr. *Legrasse*, his Excellency's Confectioner, by endeavouring to save his Clothes and Money, perish'd in the Flames: His Excellency himself was the first that discover'd the Fire, and immediately alarm'd the Family, most of whom had just Time to escape the Flames: But the Under Cook, in his Fright running up Stairs instead of the contrary Way, was drove from Room to Room by the Fury of the Flames, till he was at last forc'd to jump down from the Top of the House into the Garden, by which he was bruise'd in such a Manner, that his Life was despair'd of. Neither the Wearing Apparel of his Excellency,

cellency, or of any of his Family, were fav'd.

The House was Part of the Freehold Estate of Sir George Skipworth, Bart. who granted a Lease of it for a certain Term of Years (now near expired) to the Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who let the Remainder of the same to the Earl of Denbigh, which noble Lord, during his Absence in the Country, was pleas'd to accommodate M. de Chavigny with the Use of it. Amongst the rich Things burnt and lost, are two small Pictures, valued at 500*l.* each, the Property of Lord Denbigh. 'Tis thought his most Christian Majesty will repair the whole Damage, which is computed at 18,000*l.*

THURSDAY, 20.

This Morning between Three and Four o'Clock, soon after the Stage Coaches were gone out, a Fire broke out in the Stables belonging to the Cross-Keys-Inn in Gracechurch-street, (occasion'd, as 'twas said, by a Servant leaving a Candle burning) and in two Hours Time burnt the said Inn to the Ground, together with all the Furniture, Stock, &c. as likewise several Warehouses full of Goods belonging to Merchants and Country Chapmen, a Waggon laden with Goods in the Yard, and the back Part of 12 Houses adjacent. There were two Persons missing, one a Gentleman who lodg'd there, and the other a poor Woman who was to have been remov'd the next Day to the Hospital. Five Horses belonging to the Sudbury Carrier were burnt to Death. The Barber's Shop in the Yard was burnt; and the Apprentices being lock'd in there, were sav'd with great Difficulty. A Gentleman jump'd from the two Pair of Stairs Floor, and was happily catch'd without Hurt.

FRIDAY, 21.

James Ogletborpe, Esq; Member of Parliament for Haslemere, being arriv'd from Georgia (where he had been for some Time to assist in settling the new Colony) came this Evening from his Seat at Westbrook in Surrey, to his House in Old Palace-Yard, Westminster, accompany'd by several Gentlemen of Distinction; and soon after went to the Georgia Office in Old Palace-Yard, to wait on the other Trustees of that Colony, who received him with all possible Acknowledgments. In the Evening the said Trustees gave a grand Entertainment on Occasion of that Gentleman's safe Arrival.

TUESDAY, 25.

This Morning a Messenger arriv'd at Whitehall from Mr. Finch, his Majesty's Minister at the Hague, with Advice, that the British Yachts arriv'd at Helvoetsluys on Saturday last, and that her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange intended to embark in a Day or two for England; the Prince her Consort being set out for Prince Eugene's Army on the Rhine.

Came on before a Court of Delegates at Serjeants-Inn-Hall in Chancery-Lane, the Hearing of an Appeal brought by the Right Hon. the Lord Onslow, from an interlocutory Sentence pronounced by the Judge of the Arches Court, in a Cause of a Matrimonial Contract, commenc'd there against the said Lord, by Anne Mead, styling herself the Right Hon. Anne Onslow, Baroness Onslow, otherwise Mead; and after a long Hearing the said Sentence was repealed as null and illegal, and the Appeal of the said Lord allow'd just, but without Costs. (See Vol. II. p. 363.)

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

ROBERT Sims, of the County of Northampton, Esq; married to Miss Mills, Daughter-in-Law to John Shepherd, of Moulsey in Surrey, Esq;

— Hurst, of Kent, Esq; to Miss Knatchbull, of Grosvenor-street, Daughter of the late Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart.

Sir William Wyndham, Bart. to the Marchioness of Blandford, at her Seat near Windsor.

Mr. Norton, Son of Col. Norton, to Miss Hutchinson, of Westminster.

The Lady Smyth, Wife of Sir Robert Smyth, of Isfield in Sussex, Bart. and Daughter of the Earl of Bristol, delivered of a Son.

Mr. Jaffer, an eminent Attorney on Broad-Street-Hill, married to Miss Horsman, Daughter of Gilbert Horsman, late of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

— Bassett, Esq; to the second Daughter of Sir William Courtenay, Bart.

The Lady of Thomas Archer, Esq; one of the Coheiressees of the late Earl of Oxford, delivered of a Daughter.

Stephen Bray, Esq; of Isleworth in Middlesex, married to the Hon. Miss Arabella Paxton, a near Relation to the Earl of Yarmouth, a Fortune of 20,000*l.*

Robert Turner, of Epsom in Surrey, Esq; to Miss Dickens, Daughter of — Dickens, of Brookstreet, Esq;

Thomas Greville, of Great Marlow, Esq; to Miss Miller, only Daughter and Heiress of Samuel Miller, of Reading in Berkshire, Esq;

Mr. Isaac-Barbanel Henriques, an eminent Merchant, to Mrs. Linder, a Portugal Jewels of considerable Fortune.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Gower deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of M. Hopman, Resident from the Duke of Mecklenbourg, deliver'd of a Son at his House in James-street, Westminster.

DEATHS.

JAMES Bruce, Esq; Keeper of his Majesty's Mint at Edinburgh.

Sir George Carpenter, Commander of a Man of War in the Reign of Queen Anne.

Rev. Dr. *Holland*, Warden of *Merton College* in *Oxford*.

Rev. Mr. *Townshend*, Rector of *Hatfield Priory* and *St. Anne's* in *Essex*.

Col. *Edmund Watts*, Captain of a Company of Invalids, and some Time third Aid-de-Camp to his late Majesty.

Capt. *Lyell*, Commander of the *Windham*, from *China*, in the Service of the *East-India Company*; he died on board.

Capt. *Joseph Hiscox*, an eminent Merchant of this City.

Capt. *Smithson*, an old Commander in the Navy.

Mr. *Thomas Ridout*, Shoe-maker near *Aldgate*, reputed worth 10,000*l*.

Lord *Tufston*, eldest Son of the Right Hon. *Sackville*, Earl of *Tbanet*; of the Small-Pox, in the 9th Year of his Age.

At his Seat in *Northamptonshire*, Sir *John Lewis*, a Gentleman possess'd of a considerable Estate in that County, in the 104th Year of his Age.

Thomas Rawlins, Esq; a Gentleman possess'd of about 1500*l*. per Ann. which devolves to his only Son *John Rawlins*, Esq;

Major-General *Hunter*, Governor of *Jamaica*, died there on the 4th of *March* last.

Capt. *Middleton*, who had a Company at *Gibraltar*.

At *Sevenoakes* in *Kent*, Sir *Henry Fermor*, of *Welches* in *Suffex* and of *Sevenoakes*, Bart. descended from one of that Name that came out of *France* in the Reign of *K. Edward III*.

Hon. Miss *Elizabeth Vane*, Niece of the Right Hon. the Lord *Barnard*.

At *Hanwell* in *Middlesex*, *Ralph Symonds*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County.

Robert Lloyd, of *Aston* in *Shropshire*, Esq; who served several Years as a Member for that County.

John Rickets, Esq; formerly an eminent *Hambourgh Merchant* of this City.

At the *Spunging-House* in the *King's-Bench Prison*, the famous *Japhet Crooke*, alias Sir *Peter Stranger*, who about five Years since stood on the Pillory at *Charing-Cross*, had his Ears cut off and his Nostrils slit, for Forgery; he was sentenced to be confined for Life.

James Williams, Esq; at his House in *Queen's-Square*, *Westminster*, a Gentleman of a very plentiful Estate: He has by his Will left upwards of 4000*l*. to charitable Uses.

At his Seat near *Coventry*, *Samuel Alleyne*, Esq; late High Sheriff for the County of *Warwick*.

Major *John Hanbury*, one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Monmouth*.

Mrs. *Signoret*, a French Lady, reckon'd worth upwards of 50,000*l*.

At *Litchfield*, Capt. *Shepherd*, formerly Commander of a Man of War: He had the Misfortune to lose one of his Legs at the Fight

of *La Hogue*, when Sir *George Rouse* burnt the French Fleet there.

At *Kelham*, near *Newark*, in the 35th Year of her Age, her Grace *Bridget*, Dutchess of *Rutland*, Daughter and Heiress of the late Lord *Lexington*.

At his House on *Clerkenwell-Green*, Mr. *Joseph Edwards*, the oldest Captain belonging to the Red Regiment of Train'd-Bands.

Mrs. *Vander Esch*, Widow and Relief of the late *Henry Vander Esch*, Esq; who came over from *Holland* with King *William*, and Mother of *Henry Vander Esch*, Esq; Deputy Master of his Majesty's Mint in the Tower, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Tower Hamlets.

Miss *Maria Bertis*, Niece to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Abingdon*.

Mrs. *Newcomb*, a Maiden Gentlewoman, reputed to have died worth 7000*l*. which she has left by her Will to *William Newcomb*, Esq; of *Rumford* in *Essex*.

Mr. *Christopher Reed*, Inspector-General of his Majesty's Excise at the Custom-House, who is succeeded by Mr. *George Pratt*, General Gauger at the Keys.

Hon. *Francis Gwyn* of *Ford Abby* in *Devonshire*, Esq; in the 86th Year of his Age. He had served the Crown in several great Offices of Trust; the last of which was that of Secretary at War to Queen *Anne*.

Mrs. *Longley*, who some Time since was tried at *Kingston* Assizes for the Murder of her Husband.

Rev. Mr. *Haughton*, a Nonjuring Clergyman.

Samuel Cockeril, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for *Gloucestershire*.

The Lady of Sir *Charles Lloyd*: She was Daughter to Sir *Edward Layton* of the County of *Salop*, Bart.

John Fowler, Esq; formerly an eminent *Hambourgh Merchant* of this City.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

DR. *Berkely* consecrated Bishop of *Cloyne* in *Ireland*.

Mr. *Kinard Bagbott* presented to the Rectory of *Dumbleton*, *Gloucestershire*.

Mr. *Birdin* to the Vicarage of *Hawley*, *Northumberland*.

Dr. *Alured Clerk* made Deputy Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty.

Mr. *Atwood Wigzell*, to the Rectory of *Sanderstead*, *Surrey*, by *John Atwood*, Esq;

Mr. *Ingram* to the Rectory of *Yelden* and *Shelton*, *Bedfordshire*.

Mr. *William Moggridge* to the Rectory of *Porlock*, *Somersetshire*.

Mr. *Smelt* to the Living of *Borougbbidge*, *Yorkshire*.

Mr. *Gilham* to the Rectory of *Rippon* *Yorkshire*,

Mr,

Mr. Barber to the Rectory of *Ashmore*, in the County of *Dorset* and Diocese of *Bristol*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

CAPTAIN Sutton, Captain of a Company of *Invalids*, appointed by the Duke of *Argyll*, Master of the Ordnance, to be Commander of the Garrison of *Scilly*, in the room of Capt. *Curzon*, deceased.

His Grace the Duke of *Montagu* kiss'd the King's Hand on his being made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

Mr. *William Selwin*, who opposed Mr. *Bosworth* for the Office of Chamberlain of this City, (see p. 264.) appointed Receiver General of the City of *London* and County of *Middlesex*, in the room of Col. *Robinson* the late Chamberlain, deceased.

Right Hon. *John Viscount Lymington* made Gov. and Capt. of the Isle of *Wight*, and Gov. of *Carisbrook* Castle, and Constable and Door-keeper of the said Castle, &c. in the room of his Grace the Duke of *Montagu*.

His Grace *Peregrine Duke of Ancafter and Kesteven*, Lord great Chamberlain of *England*, made Lord Warden and Justice in Eyre of all his Majesty's Parks, Chaces, Forests, &c. North of *Trent*, in the room of the said Viscount *Lymington*.

Right Hon. *Charles Lord Cadogan* kiss'd the King's Hand for the Command of the Regiment of Dragoons late the Right Hon. *John Earl of Stair*'s.

Mr. *Dives*, Brother to Miss *Dives*, Maid of Honour to her Majesty, also kiss'd the King's Hand on his being lately presented to a Lieutenantcy in the Foot-Guards.

Capt. *John Talbot*, Brother to the Lord Chancellor, and Capt. *Henry Spencer*, appointed to the Command of two of the Independent Companies to be sent from *Gibraltar* to *Jamaica*.

A Son of the Marquis *du Quesne*, Brother in Law to Sir *Roger Bradshaigh*, Bart. made a Lieutenant in one of the Independent Companies.

On the 24th, Mr. *George Martin*, Sen. Citizen and Skinner, and Mr. *William Pate*, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor, were chosen Sheriffs for *London* and *Middlesex*, for the Year ensuing.

Capt. *Blagden* appointed to command one of the Independent Companies to be sent to *Jamaica*.

James Montagu, *Humphry Fowle*, Esqs; Sir *More Molineux*, Knt. *John Paul Yvonnet* and *Edwyn Coney*, Esqs; made Commissioners for Appeals, and regulating the Duties of Excise.

Lord *Forbes* receiv'd his Commission as Rear-Admiral of the *White*, in the room of Admiral *Migbrell*, deceased.

Members of Parliament chosen.

Aberdeen, &c.	Col. <i>John Middleton</i>
Air, Irwin, &c.	<i>William Stewart</i> , Esq;
Breconshire	<i>John Jefferies</i> , Esq;
Fortrose, Inv. &c.	<i>Duncan Forbes</i> , Esq;
Kirkwall, &c.	Sir <i>Robert Monro</i>
Newport, Cornw.	Sir <i>John Moleworth</i>
	Hon. <i>Tbo. Herbert</i> , Esq;
Cardigan County	<i>Walter Lloyd</i> , Esq;
Southwark	<i>Thomas Inwen</i> , Esq;
	<i>George Heathcote</i> , Esq;
Stirlingshire	Sir <i>James Campbell</i> , Bart.
Dumbartonshire	Col. <i>John Campbell</i>
Fifehire	Sir <i>John Anstruther</i> , Bart.
Aberdeenshire	Sir <i>Arthur Forbes</i> , Bart.
Forfarshire	Hon. <i>Tco. Lyon</i> , Esq;
Nairn County	Hon. <i>John Campbell</i> , Esq;
Rofs County	<i>Hugh Rose of Kilravock</i> , Esq;
Berwickshire	Hon. <i>Al. Hume Campbell</i> , Esq;
Glamorganshire	Hon. <i>Wm. Talbot</i> , Esq;
Orkneyshire	Hon. <i>Rob. Dundas</i> , Esq;
Argyllshire	Sir <i>James Campbell</i> , Bart.
Elginshire	Hon. <i>Alex. Brodie</i> , Esq;

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

Raberne Browne, of *Chipping Ongar*, in the County of *Essex*, Innholder, Victualler and Chapman.

John Gyles, of the Parish of *St. James's*, *Clerkenwell*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Oilman and Chapman.

Robert Watkinson, of the Strand, in the County of *Middlesex*, Glass-seller and Chapman.

Thomas Eden, of *Bishopsgate-street*, *London*, Linnen-Draper.

Henry Hawthorne, of the Parish of *St. Luke*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Buckram-Stiffener and Warehouseman.

James Jones, of the Parish of *St. Paul*, *Covent-Garden*, Chapman.

Compton Morris, late of *St. Alban's-street*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Linnen-Draper and Chapman.

Isaac Levy, of *Ingram-Court* in *Fenchurch-street*, *London*, Merchant.

John Browne and *Joseph Browne*, of *St. John's Southwark*, in the County of *Surrey*, Salesmen, Chapmen, and Partners.

John Gilbert, of *Wantage*, in the County of *Berks*, Innholder, Merchant, and Chapman.

Robert Clapp, of the Parish of *St. Anne* within the Liberty of *Westminster*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Silversmith and Chapman.

William Holden, of *Lawrence-Lane*, *London*, Warehouseman and Chapman.

Henry Lister, late of *Goodman's-Fields*, *Middlesex*, Vintor.

Thomas Howes, of the *Old Artillery-Ground*, *Middlesex*, Weaver.

Samuel Fletcher, of *Middle-Moorfields*, *Middlesex*, Victualler,

Prices

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 80 $\frac{1}{2}$	Afric. 22
—Bonds 48s Prem.	Royal Aff. 96
—Annu. 105 $\frac{1}{4}$	Lon. ditto 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank 137	Y. Build. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
—Circ. 7 2 6	3 p. C. An. 94
Mil. Bank 107	Eng Copper 1l. 14s.
India 147	Welsh Books shut
—Bonds 27s	

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 11	Bilboa 39 $\frac{1}{4}$
D. Sight 35 8	Legborn 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Rotter. 36	Genoa 51 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hamb. 35 9	Venice 48 $\frac{1}{4}$
P. Sight 31 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lisb. 5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bourdauf 30 $\frac{3}{8}$	Oport. 5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Cadiz 40 a $\frac{1}{8}$	Antw. 36 4a5
Madrid 40 a $\frac{1}{8}$	Dublin 11 a 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 26 30	Oates 11 13
Rye 15 17	Tares 18 23
Barley 14 17	Pease 20 22
H. Beans 16 20	H. Pease 16 19
P. Malt 17 20	B. Malt 16 19

Prices of Goods, &c. in London. Hay 39s. to 42s. a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 24	Sugar Powder best 54 a 59s.	Manna 2s. 6d. a 4s.
New Hops per Hun. 5l. a 5l. 10	Ditto second Sort 46s. a 50	Mastick white 4s. od.
Old Hops 3l. 10s. a 4l.	Loaf Sugar doubleres. 8d. half a 9d.	Opium 9s.
Rape Seed 10 a 11	Ditto single refine 56s. a 64s.	Quicksilver 4s. 3d.
Lead the Fodder 19 Hun. 1 half		Rhubarb 18 a 25s.
on board, 14 a 14l. 10s.	Grocery Wares by the lb.	Sarsaparilla 3s. od.
Tin in Blocks 3l. 10 6	Cinamon 7s. 8d.	Saffron English 22s. 6d.
Ditto in Bars 4l.	Cloves 9s. 1d.	Wormseeds none
Copper Eng. best 5l. 5s.	Mace 15s. od.	Balsam Copaira 3s. od
Ditto ordinary 4l. 16s. a 5l.	Nutmegs 8s. 7d.	Balsam of Gilead 20s.
Ditto Barbary 8s a 9s.	Sugar Candy white 14 a 18d.	Hypocacuanæ 5 a 5s. 6d
Iron of Bilboa 15l. 5s. per Ton.	Ditto brown 6d.	Ambergreece per oz. 8s.
Ditto of Sweden 16l. 10s.	Pepper for home consump. 16d.	Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Tallow 30 a 31s	Ditto for Exportation 12d. 1 4lb	Oporto red per Pipe 32l. a 34l.
Country Tallow 30s.	Tea Bobea fine 10s. a 12s.	Ditto white none
Cochineal 18s. 3	Ditto ordinary 8a9s.	Lisbon red 35 a 40l.
	Ditto Congo 10 a 12s.	Ditto white 26 a 28l.
Grocery Wares by the C.	Ditto Pekoe 14a 16s.	Sberry 26l.
Raisins of the S. new 34s.	Ditto Green fine 9 a 12s.	Canary new 25 a 28l.
Ditto Malaga Frailes 18s.	Ditto Imperial 9 a 12s.	Ditto old 32 a 34l.
Ditto Smirna new 24s.	Ditto Hyson 20 a 25s.	Florence 3l.
Ditto Alicant 19s.		French red 30l. a 40l.
Ditto Lipra new 20s.	Drugs by the lb.	Ditto white 20l.
Ditto Balvedera 21s.	Balsam Peru 14s.	Mountain Malaga old 24l.
Currants 44s.	Cardamoms 3s. 6d.	Ditto new 20 l. a 21
Prunes French none	Campfire resin'd 14s.	Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7s. a 8s.
Figs 20s.	Crabs Eyes 1s 8d.	Rum of Jam. 6 a 7s.
	Yallop 2s. 2d.	Ditto Low. Islands 6s. 4d. 6s. 10d

FROM

Abstract of the London WEEKLY B I L L, from May 21 to June 25.

Christned	Males 769	Females 767	1536
Buried	Males 1234	Females 1260	2494

Died under 2 Years old	977
Between 2 and 5	312
5 10	156
10 20	94
20 30	152
30 40	192
40 50	222
50 60	141
60 70	137
70 80	75
80 90	32
90 and upwards	4

2494

FROM Naples: That the Count *de Montemar*, at the Head of 8000 of his *Catholic Majesty's* Troops, attack'd Count *Visconti*, the late Viceroy of that Kingdom, on the 25th of May at *Bisento* near *Taranto*, where he lay entrenched with 7000 Foot, having 2400 Horse to support his Infantry; and that after a bloody Engagement, the *Spaniards* forc'd the *Germans* out of their Trenches, and took 3000 Prisoners.

From Paris. By a Courier arriv'd the 11th at Night, we are informed that the *Marquis de Cugny* no sooner heard that the *Imperialists* had taken *Colorno*, but he sent *M. de Maillebois* and *M. de Chatillon*, with a great Body of Troops, to attack them; who, after some Resistance, abandon'd that Place, repass'd the *Lenza*, and broke down their Bridge for Fear of being pursued.

From Rotterdam, June 29. We have received the agreeable News of the *Imperialists* having defeated the *Allies* in *Italy*; the latter had 7000 killed, and 3000 taken Prisoners.

From Paris. A Courier arriv'd here from *Turin*, who brought the News of the Death of *Marshal Villars* on the 21st at Night, in the 83d Year of his Age.

From Dantzick. At a late Meeting of the several Orders of this City, one of the principal Members, in a long and pathetic Speech, having set to View the fatal Hazards of War, propos'd to accommodate Matters with the Enemy, when a Scymiter was presented to his Throat, and he stop'd, or had never spoke more. 'Tis impossible to describe the Confusion that ensued; the Orator was spirited away by his Friends.

From the Hague. Letters from the *Russian* Camp before *Dantzick* of the 23d, advise, that *Fort Weichselmunde* had surrender'd, and that the *French* Troops encamped near it were made Prisoners of War; and that the Town had desir'd to capitulate.

The Surrender of the City of *Dantzick* to the *Russian* and *Saxon* Generals was afterwards confirm'd with these Particulars, that the Magistracy had not only consented to acknowledge King *Augustus*, but to ask Pardon of that Prince and her *Czarian* Majesty for the Trouble they have had; that four Millions of *Rixdollars* were to be instantly paid to Count *Munich*, and the City thereupon to be continued in her Privileges. King *Stanislaus* found Means to make his Escape, as did likewise several of the Magistrates, and other Partizans of that Prince.

Letters from the *Rhine* advise, that *James Fitz-James* Duke of *Berwick*, having been in the Trenches before *Philipsbourg* on the 12th Instant, was mounting his Horse in order to return to his Quarters, when a Falconet Ball took him in the Groin, and he expir'd soon after: The most authentick Ac-

counts say, that his Head was shot off by a Cannon Ball: And according to several Letters from *Paris*, he met his Fate from one of the *French* Batteries rais'd against the Town of *Philipsbourg*; the Prince of *Conti* and likewise a private Centinel told him, that the Cannon had been pointed towards the Place he was going to, for several Hours: But the Duke obstinately persisted, and going on, was killed in four Minutes after. His Grace was natural Son of the late King *James*, by Mrs. *Arabella Churchill*, Sister to the late Duke of *Marlborough*, and had the Title of Duke of *Berwick*, as likewise the Garter, conferr'd upon him by that Prince: He serv'd in the *French* Army from his Infancy, and distinguished himself in several Actions during the late War: He rose to be Marshal of *France*, the highest Honour the King can bestow, not more by Favour than by his Services to that Prince; and as he was one of the oldest, so was the best General the *French* had: He has left three Sons, the eldest Duke of *Fitz-James*, the second Duke of *Liria* in *Spain*, having that Honour from his *Catholic Majesty*, whose Ambassador he was some Time to the Court of *Vienna*, and the third is in the Service of the Church. Upon the Death of the Duke of *Berwick*, the Prince of *Tingry*, the Duke of *Noailles*, and the Duke of *Richlieu*, took upon them the Command of the three Bodies into which the *French* Army was divided; and the Count *de Belle-Isle*, and the *Marquis d'Asfeldt*, continued the Direction of the Siege. The latter was soon after constituted General in chief of the Army before *Philipsbourg*.

From the Camp on the Upper Rhine, June 25. Prince *Eugene* has approach'd still nearer the *French* Intrenchments; his head Quarters at present are at *Odenheim*, about two Leagues from *Bruchsal*: The Prince has given Orders for repairing the Ways thro' the Black Forest towards *Alsace*, and those which lead to *Manheim* thro' the Province of *Odenwald*. We have Advice that 15000 *French* are in full March to reinforce the Army before *Philipsbourg*: They push on the Siege with Vigour, and are in Possession of some Outworks; the *French* are likewise drawing a Line from *Neustadt* to *Spire*.

Hanover, June 25. As this Electorate is a Member of the Empire, and consequently engag'd in all the Steps the *Germanick* Body shall take, with Regard to the present State of Affairs, the Council of Regency has received Orders to permit the Emperor and Empire's Declaration of War against *France* to be published in all our Cities and Towns, as likewise the several Imperial Ordinances which have been since issued in Relation thereto.

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